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Darrell Peter Kruger

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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settlement system. (Volumes I and II)**

Kruger, Darrell Peter, Ph.D.

The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1994

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**COLONIAL NATAL 1838 TO 1880: THE MAKING OF A SOUTH AFRICAN
SETTLEMENT SYSTEM**

VOLUME 1

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by

Darrell Peter Kruger

B.A. (Honors), University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), 1988

M.A., Louisiana State University, 1990

August 1994

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DEDICATION

For Natal,

The land that I have come to love.

There is a lovely road that runs from Ixopo into the hills. These hills are grass-covered and rolling, and they are lovely beyond any singing of it. The road climbs seven miles into them, to Carisbrooke; and from there, if there is no mist, you look down on one of the fairest valleys of Africa. About you there is grass and bracken and you may hear the forlorn crying of the titihoya, one of the birds of the veld. Below you is the valley of the Umzimkulu, on its journey from the Drakensberg to the sea; and beyond and behind them, the mountains of Ingeli and East Griqualand (Alan Paton, *Cry the Beloved Country*).

Yes, it is the dawn that has come. The titihoya wakes from sleep, and goes about its work of forlorn crying. The sun tips with light the mountains of Ingeli and East Griqualand. The great valley of the Umzimkulu is still in darkness, but the light will come there. Ndotsheni is still in darkness, but the light will come there also. For it is the dawn that has come, as it has come for a thousand centuries, never failing. But when that dawn will come, of our emancipation, from the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear, why, that is a secret (Alan Paton, *Cry the Beloved Country*).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed in various ways to the fruition of this narrative that chronicles the making of a South African settlement system in nineteenth-century Natal. Dr. Sam B. Hilliard served as my major advisor (and friend) and was always willing to meet, discuss, and advise whenever I felt it necessary. I thank him for his advice during the preliminary, research, writing, and conclusion phases of this adventure. I have been privileged to work with an historical geographer of his stature from whom I have learnt much about the discipline as well as life. His wise insight during our lengthy conversations since my arrival at L.S.U. has shaped my thinking and philosophy in no small measure. I thank my other committee members including Dr. Miles Richardson, Dr. Carville V. Earle, Dr. Stanley Stevens, and Dr. William Davidson who have contributed in their own unique ways to my contribution. Dr. Richardson served as my minor professor and introduced me to philosophy through lectures and readings (particularly the *Denial of Death*) in his thought-provoking religion Anthropology courses. I thank Dr. Earle for challenging my thinking and ideas on South African historical geography-- comments during our conversations challenged me to read, read, and continue reading. I thank Dr. Stevens for his constructive comments on the pastoralism section (in chapter 4), in particular. I also wish to gratefully acknowledge the thoughtful comments of Dr. Anne Mosher during the early stages of the research project.

Financial support for the research was forthcoming from many quarters. First, I wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Department of Geography and

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I also acknowledge the friendly and helpful staff at the Killie Campbell Africana Library in Durban, Natal for their interest, diligence, and co-operation while I researched at this location on the Berea that commanded such a wonderful view of the city. Moreover, when I needed additional materials while writing in the "Red Stick" they proved as good as their word in satisfying my long-winded requests for particular documents.

My fellow graduate students provided valuable moral support during the years at L.S.U. I thank Ricky Samson, Scott Brady, Taylor Mack (The Honduran Trio), Eric Perramond, Rocky Sexton, Barry Keim, Dan Allen, and Linda Thorstad for their camaraderie. I also thank my parents and siblings for their support and interest in an endeavor that often times seemed "academic". As Natalians and South Africans they continue to contribute to shaping the place we inhabit. Thank you too, to Leonie whose perfect handiwork is visible in the tables. More importantly, thank you for your unflinching support, patience, and love.

DPK
Baton Rouge, July 1994

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BPP: British Parliamentary Papers
- CL&EC: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission
- DEIC: Dutch East India Company
- EC: Records of the Natal Executive Council
- LC: Records of the Natal Legislative Council
- NBI: Natal Board of Immigration
- NGG: Natal Government Gazette
- NL&CC.: Natal Land and Colonization Company
- NNC: Natal Native Commission Reports
- p,s,p: Pound, shilling, pence
- Rds: Rixdollar
- SAAR.: South African Archival Records
- SCLC.: Select Committee of the Natal Legislative Council
- SD: Select Documents of the Natal Legislative Council

ABSTRACT

The study of colonial settlement policy is one way for human geographers to understand how people shape the places they inhabit. The major concern of this study was to determine the impact of Dutch-Afrikaner, Native, and British cultures on the Natal colonial settlement system between 1838 and 1879. A prolonged era (1844-1879) of British settlement policy was preceded by a brief period of Dutch-Afrikaner hegemony (1838-1843). I test the hypothesis that Natal's British settlement system was a syncretic compromise between European and South African (Native and Dutch-Afrikaner) adaptations.

My interpretation turns on frontier processes of transfer and borrowing. I suggest a threefold regionalization (sociogeographic entities), reflecting the relative importance of transfer and/or borrowing processes to explain the diversity of the Natal settlement system. British cultural transfer and persistence was dominant in coastal Natal and characterized the first sociogeographic region centered on Durban. The second sociogeographic region, centered on the capital Pietermaritzburg in midland Natal was a hearth of British experimentation. Here processes of transfer and borrowing (from Dutch-Afrikaner and Natives) coupled with adaptation co-existed. The third sociogeographic region in interior Natal (area north of and including Weenen) exemplifies the persistence of Dutch-Afrikaner settlement ideas and institutions (laagers, large erven sizes, dorp names, and extensive pastoral landholdings) and their adoption by the British. Here British borrowing of Dutch-Afrikaner settlement ideas outweighed the wholesale transfer and implantation of British ideas.

The Natalian settlement system is considered a syncretic compromise between European (British) and South African (Native and Dutch-Afrikaner) adaptations-- Natal was not a European (Dutch or British) transplantation from northwest Europe. The settlement of Natal was modelled after the compact agricultural settlement ethos of Wakefield and the colonial reformers. The successful settlement of Anglo agriculturalists on 20-acre allotments prescribed by the colonial reformers' settlement model was, however, modified and adapted by the presence of approximately 100,000 semi-nomadic Bantu and Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists. In colonial Natal it may be argued that the sum of the South African settlement system is greater than the parts (Native, Dutch-Afrikaner, and British) that constitute it.

INTRODUCTION

This study recounts the settlement geography of Natal from 1838 to 1880. Natal was discovered and named by the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama on Christmas Day, 1497. The Portuguese and later members of the Dutch East India Company (1689), however, made no attempt to establish permanent settlement on the east coast of South Africa. It was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that Natal was permanently settled by English- (British) and Afrikaans- (Voortrekker) speaking peoples. An **Afrikaner** is a linguistic designation applicable to all people including vrijburgher, trekboer, or Khoikhoi who spoke Afrikaans. I use **vrijburgher** (free citizen) to refer to those servants, previously in the employ of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape, who were free to pursue wheat farming in the southwestern Cape or pastoralism on the Cape frontier after their contracts with the Company expired. A **trekboer** (migratory farmer) refers to any free citizen at the Cape who moved onto the frontier, especially after 1703, and lived an isolated, pastoral subsistence lifestyle in close proximity to Khoikhoi (Hottentot) pastoralists.

The term **Voortrekker** refers to those approximately 6,000 men, women and children who embarked on the Great Trek (Thompson 1990:88). They migrated from the eastern part of the Cape Colony to the South African Highveld of the Transvaal and Orange Free State and the (relatively speaking) lowlands of Natal. Voortrekker is thus synonymous with an Afrikaner. I also refer to the inhabitants of Voortrekker Natal as **Dutch-Afrikaner**. Culturally this designation connotes Voortrekker Natal as an extension of the Dutch-Afrikaner hearth located in the Cape Colony. This term implies

that Dutch-Afrikaner culture, manifest in institutions, is neither European nor African in origin but rather the product of a syncretic compromise between European and South African adaptations. The British arrived by ship and established a fledgling settlement on the forested coast at Port Natal in the eastern part of the province in 1824. In contrast, the Voortrekkers entered Natal from the west after migrating from the Cape Colony. As pastoralists they sought out the grasslands in the interior of the province. The Bantu, forefathers of the powerful Zulu nation that was to emerge under Shaka in the early part of the nineteenth century, had settled in the eastern part of South Africa approximately three-hundred years before the arrival of the British (1824) and Voortrekkers (1838).

This narrative differs from A.J. Christopher's (1969)¹ chronicle in that it considers African, Dutch-Afrikaner, and Anglo ethno-cultural societies contributions to the making of a colonial settlement system and the creation of Natal as lived in and experienced place. Christopher meticulously reconstructed Natal's rural cadastral landscape in each of the eight counties (Figure 1) by decade from 1860 until 1910, the conclusion of the colonial period in South Africa. Christopher's study provides a wealth of county-level quantitative rural cadastral data by decade including: (1) the total number of farms alienated, (2) the total area that these farms comprised, (3) the average farm size, and (4) the median farm size. Christopher views Natal's settlement geography through the lens of European, particularly British, colonization and

¹ *Natal - A Study in Colonial Land Settlement*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of Natal.



Figure 1 The Colony of Natal: Towns and County Boundaries
Source: After Christopher 1971

settlement, paying scant attention to antecedent Dutch-Afrikaner and African contributions. The latter only exist on Native locations or beyond the frontier where they remain "shadowy figures" (Crush 1992:13). In short, Christopher's story is a British one with Africans and Dutch-Afrikaners portrayed as obstacles, in concert with environmental and economic factors, to the duplication of an Imperial settlement system upon the blueprint of the Colonial Reformers model. My emphasis, by contrast, is on the interaction of these three ethno-cultural societies from 1838 until 1879. The outcome of this culture contact and interaction is a settlement system that is not simply a British creation but one that reflects African, Dutch-Afrikaner, and British institutions and nomenclature.

Prior to the arrival of British traders in 1824 Natal was inhabited by numerous non-Zulu African chiefdoms. The Mfecane wars facilitated the rise of African Kingdoms, including the Zulu, in southeast Africa during the 1820's and 1830's and altered the political map of southeast Africa, including the pre-existing African settlement geography in Natal. The Mfecane connoted warfare, population upheaval, and political amalgamation (Figure 2). Some of the African chiefdoms in Natal were obliterated during the Mfecane, others fled southward as far as the Cape Colony, while others survived as rudimentary fragments that sought the protection of British traders and merchants located in the vicinity of Port Natal after their arrival in 1824 (Figure 3). In February 1828 the Zulu King Dingaan granted James Saunders King, one of these traders, "the free and full possession of my country near the sea coast and Port Natal,including the extensive grazing flats and forests, together with the free and

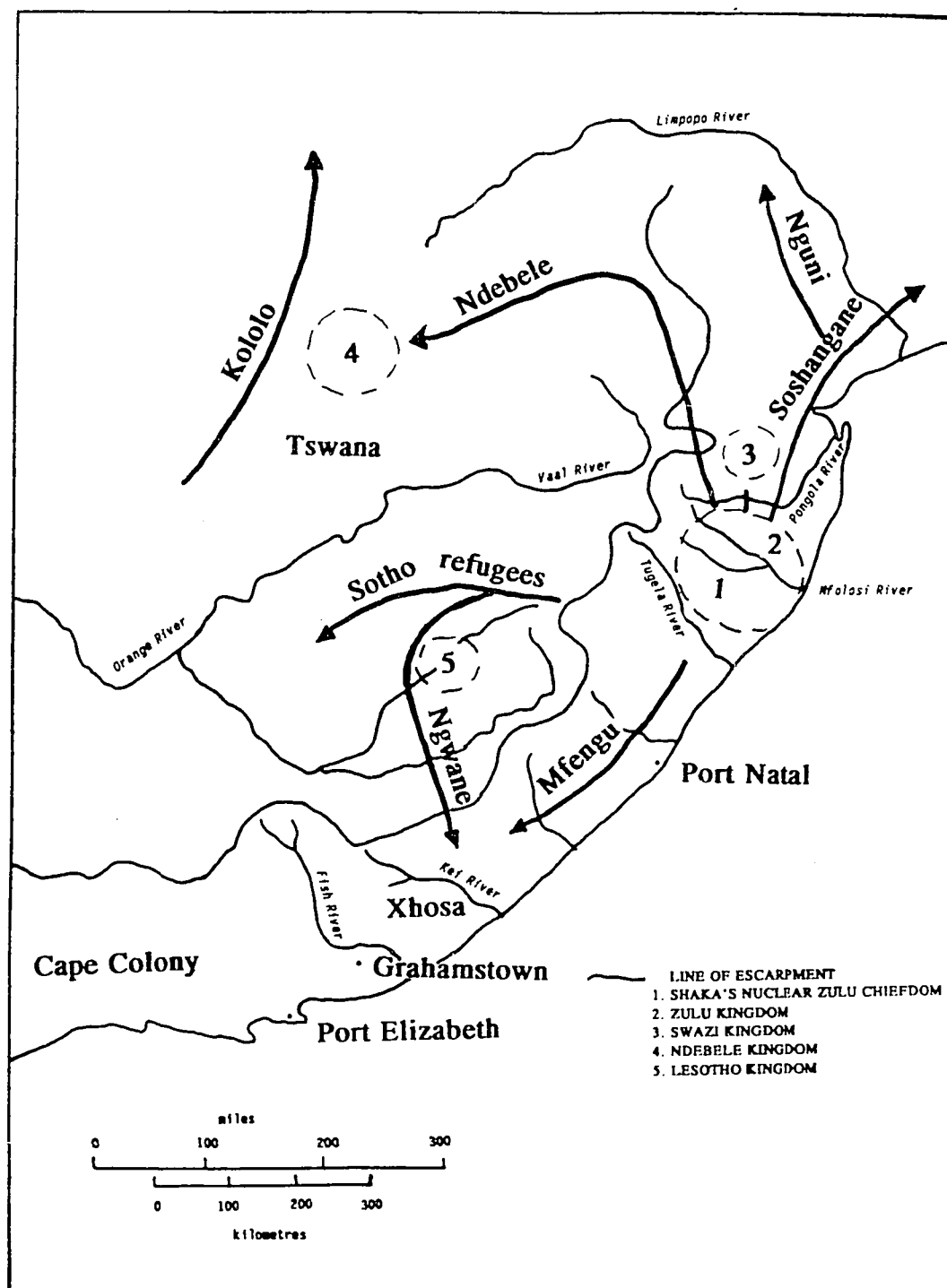


Figure 2 Shaka's Zulu Kingdom and the Mfecane Wars, 1817 to 1828
Source: After Thompson 1990

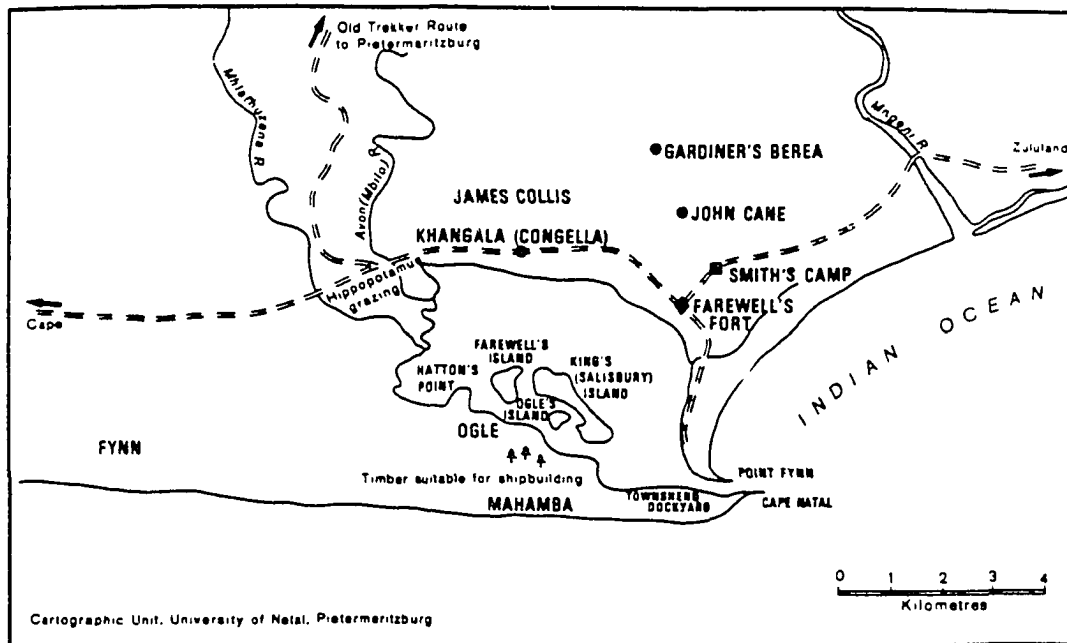


Figure 3 Early Port Natal Settlement, Circa 1832
Source: Cubbin 1983

exclusive trade of all my dominions" (Chase 1968:23). This grant and the cession of land to the Voortrekkers a decade later were made by a King fearfully respected and obeyed by Zulu and other African chiefdoms who inhabited the area bounded by the Pongola river on the north, the Mzimvubu on the south and the Great Escarpment on the west (Figure 4). The authority and power accorded the Zulu King, enforced through a large standing army at the King's Royal kraal, was manifest in 1838 when Dingaan ceded all the land from the Tugela to the Umzimvubu and from the sea to the north as far as the land was useful to Piet Retief² and the Natal Voortrekkers (Figure 4). This geographical area comprised the Republic of Natalia (1838 to 1843). In 1842 Natal was occupied by the British and eventually annexed as an autonomous district of the Cape Colony on 31st May 1844. Natal remained a British colony from 1844 until 1910. The end-date of this study is, however, 1879. This end-date is chosen for two reasons, one historical, the other pragmatic. First, 1879 saw the demise of the Zulu Kingdom facilitated by the provisions of Zulu surrender at the conclusion of the Anglo-Zulu War on September 1st 1879. In accordance with these provisions the Zulu monarchy was suppressed and the Kingdom fragmented, since the British divided Zululand into thirteen territories, each governed by an appointed chief. Hence, with the powerful Zulu Kingdom in tatters, British expansion and settlement was directed north of the Tugela. Secondly, archival data pertaining to the settlement of colonial Natal are

² Piet Retief was one of the two Natal Voortrekker leaders. Retief negotiated this land treaty with Dingaan in February 1838. Pietermaritzburg received its name from Retief's first name (Pieter) and Gert Maritz's, the other prominent trekker leader, last name. Dingaan ordered the murder of Retief and his party of 70 at the signing of this land cession at the Royal Kraal, Mgungundlovu, on February 6th 1838.

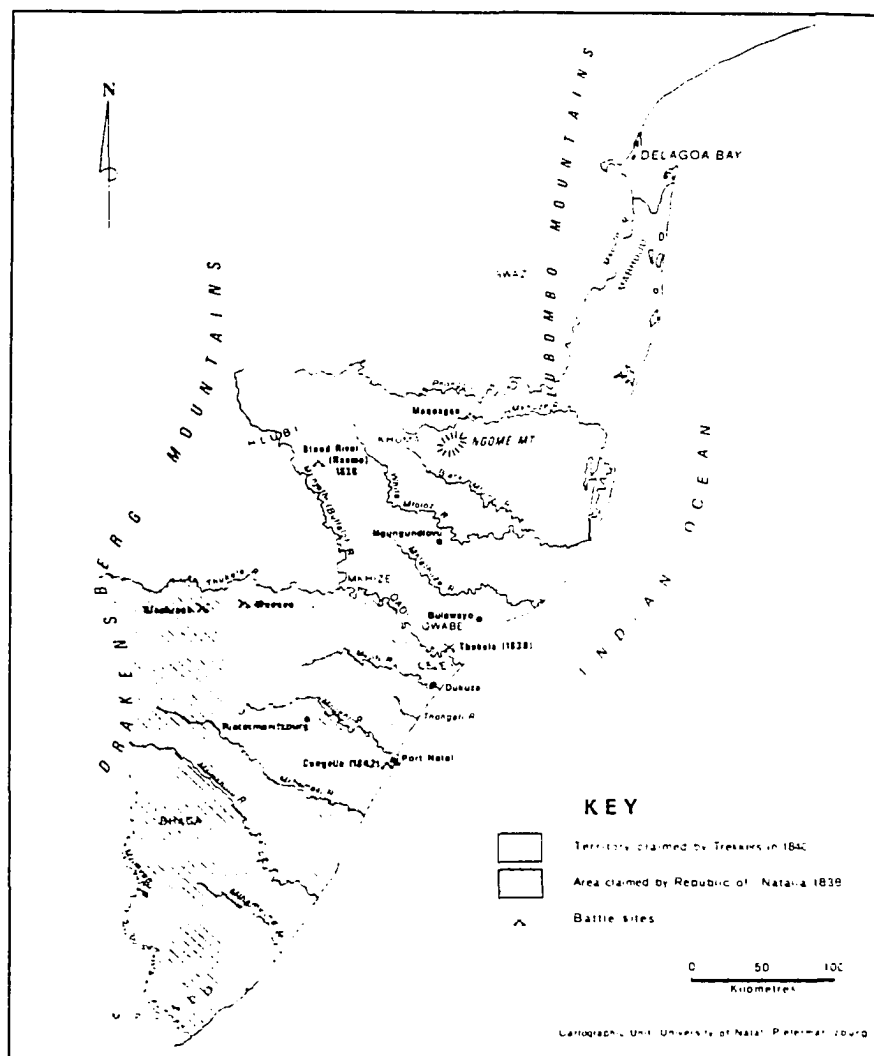


Figure 4 The Zulu Kingdom and the Republic of Natalia
Source: Colenbrander 1989

plentiful³. To read, digest, and reflect upon these data for the entire colonial period simply requires more time.

Geographically, Natal is extensive. Initially, the colony comprised an area of approximately eleven million acres; when Alfred county was added in 1866 this acreage increased to about twelve million acres (Figure 1). In this geographical area a mosaic of natural and humanly-fashioned landscapes abound. Human-environment interaction is manifest in the dichotomous up-coastal country labels that highlight the pastoral-plantation livelihoods of people in these geographical localities. In terms of political geography, from 1844 until 1856, when Natal was governed as an autonomous district of the Cape Colony, settlement policy was dictated by London colonial officials via the governor of the Cape Colony. From 1856 when Natal attained representative government until 1879, the colony's settlement geography was the creation of Natal settlers whose desires were voiced through the elected L.C. This resulted in greater tension between the appointed Executive Council (E.C.) and the elected Legislative Council (L.C) in administering the colony's day-to-day business. Prior to 1856, the governor of the Cape Colony and the E.C. dictated settlement policy with the approval of London officials. I present my narrative as follows. In chapter 1, I discuss ways in which geographers, historians, and anthropologists have conceptualized the expansion of Europe overseas. Broadly speaking, these concepts may be classified into one of two

³ Scholars interested in the study of colonial Natal spend considerable time and energy perusing *Webb's Guide to the Official Records of the Colony of Natal*, pondering where to commence, which sources to consult, and which to omit in telling their story.

categories. In the first, and most dominant, category are concepts that advocate the diffusion and persistence, albeit in modified form, of European ideas and institutions in overseas settlements. In the second category I identify concepts of culture change, particularly adaptation. I suggest that the Natal settlement system is considered a syncretic compromise of European and South African adaptations brought about through ethno-cultural contact and interaction. This culture contact and interaction occurs on the frontier, the focus of chapter 2. I commence by defining a settlement system, conceptualize the frontier as a crucible for "intergroup contact" (Forbes 1968:206), and note that colonial North American and South African frontier interpretations have been either in the economic or ethno-cultural vein. I conclude chapter 2 by bringing indigenous South Africans, including the Khoikhoi, Xhosa, Zulu, and indigenous Natal Africans, previously portrayed as "shadowy figures" (Crush 1992:13) beyond the frontier, into the narrative. The contrasting Dutch-Afrikaner and British land disposal and settlement policies in the Cape Colony and Natal are presented in the third chapter. The resulting cadastre provided the spatial framework for settlement processes and the creation of place.

To understand the Natal settlement system requires consideration and comprehension of the three ethno-cultural societies that fashioned it. Indigenous South Africans are discussed in chapter 2. In chapter 4 and 5 I consider Dutch-Afrikaner contributions. In chapter 4 the establishment of the Dutch-Afrikaner cultural complex (consisting of extensive open-range livestock raising supplemented with crop production at isolated farmsteads and punctuated with forlorn administrative and economic towns called *dorpe*)

is sought on the eighteenth century Cape frontier. I suggest that adaptation in an alien African cultural, economic and environmental milieu is considered more important than the wholesale diffusion of people and institutions from the seventeenth century United Provinces. The crystallization of this cultural complex, constituting trekboer culture, is discussed within the context of Khoikhoi-trekboer contact that culminated in a blending of European and Khoikhoi institutions. The importance of sweet-sourveld transhumance migration in shaping settlement in the eastern Cape and Natal is emphasized. Against the backdrop of this Dutch-Afrikaner cultural complex implanted from the eastern Cape Colony, I interpret Dutch-Afrikaner settlement expansion and the creation of place in the Republic of Natalia from 1838 until 1843 in chapter 5.

Chapter 6 and 7 consider the British role in shaping the Natal settlement system from 1843 to 1879. British implantations including models of settlement, settlement expansion, and settler source regions are considered in chapter 6. The influence of Dutch-Afrikaner (in part I) and African (in part II) ideas, institutions, and resistance to the idealized British settlement model are considered in chapter 7. I conclude chapter 7 by asserting that the Natal settlement system is a palimpsest reflecting African, Dutch-Afrikaner, and British experiences in the creation of place through landscape naming, imbuing it with meaning. Changing culture regions and spheres of interaction are postulated circa 1850 and 1880 to illustrate the relative impact of each ethno-cultural society in the making of the Natalian settlement system.

Historical Context

European exploration resulted in the discovery of the Cabo de Boa Esperance (Cape of Good Hope) by the Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz in May 1488. It was, however, approximately 150-years later, on April 6, 1652 that Jan van Riebeeck established a victualling station at the Cape to serve Dutch East India Company (D.E.I.C.) ships travelling between Europe and the East Indies. The D.E.I.C. held the Cape from April 1652 until September 1795 when the British ousted the Dutch on the eve of the Napoleonic Wars.

In February 1657, the D.E.I.C. granted nine former company servants (vrijburghers) 13-morgen (28-acres) each along the Liesbeeck River valley near Cape Town. During the next approximately 120-years vrijburghers migrated eastward from the Cape, so that by 1779 they had reached the Bushman's River-- a distance of 500 miles from Cape Town. Approximately 5,000 of these semi-nomadic pastoralists (trekboers) embarked on the Great Trek in 1836, following the second British occupation of the Cape in January 1806. The first British occupation of the Cape lasted from September 1795 until February 1803, at which date the Cape was handed over to the Batavian Republic in terms of the Treaty of Amiens. The second British occupation of the Cape lasted until 1823. After 1823, the Cape became a British colony coupled with the appointment of a governor-- the Cape remained a British colony until 1910 when the Union of South Africa was created through unification of the two British colony's (Cape and Natal) and the two Dutch Republics (Transvaal and Orange River).

Two general nineteenth-century Voortrekker migration routes are identifiable. The first migrants settled in the Transvaal and Orange Free State in the South African interior. A second stream of migrants settled in coastal Natal where they established the Republic of Natalia in 1838. The settlement of Natal by Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists was facilitated through an 1838 agreement between the Zulu King Dingaan and Piet Retief-- leader of the Natal Voortrekkers. According to this land treaty, Dingaan ceded on February 8, all the land between the Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers from the sea (Indian Ocean) as far inland as the land was useful to the Dutch-Afrikaner inhabitants. This geographical area comprised the Republic of Natalia. Natalia remained a Dutch-Afrikaner Republic until August 8, 1843 when the Volksraad formally agreed to British government in Natal.

Prior to Dutch-Afrikaner settlement in Natal, Natal had been sighted by European explorers (1498) and temporarily settled by Natives (1820's) and British merchants and traders (1824). In fact, the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, sighted and christened Natal on Christmas Day in 1498. During this time Natal was settled by numerous scattered non-Zulu chiefdoms. The Mfecane wars, connoted warfare, population upheaval, and political amalgamation in southeast Africa during the 1820's. These wars were initiated by the Zulu chiefdom led by Shaka and led to the establishment of centralized kingdoms (i.e. Zulu, Sotho, Swazi, and Ndebele) in southeast Africa. Through conquest, assimilation, and acculturation, the Zulu Kingdom grew in strength and became the dominant Kingdom in southeast Africa at the time Dutch-Afrikaner settlers arrived in Natal. The Zulu Kings royal kraal was located in

Zululand-- north of the Tugela River, the northern boundary between the Colony of Natal and the Zulu Kingdom. Warring during the Mfecane wars disrupted the pre-existing non-Zulu chiefdom settlement geography south of the Tugela. Some of these chiefdoms were obliterated, others fled south to the Cape Colony, while others sought refuge with British traders at Port Natal. In 1824 Francis Farewell and Henry Francis Fynn established the first permanent white settlement at Port Natal. More British traders and missionaries continued to arrive at Port Natal so that circa 1832 their number stood at approximately forty.

Following Voortrekker agreement to British government in 1843, Natal was annexed as an autonomous district of the Cape Colony on May 31, 1844. Between 1844 and 1856, Natal was governed by a 6-member Executive Council consisting of British colonial officials appointed by the Governor of the Cape Colony. At this time Natal was divided into seven counties for administrative purposes. On July 15, 1856, Natal was granted representative government. This meant that Natal was governed as a separate colony from the Cape Colony-- an appointed Executive Council and elected Legislative Council jointly framed colonial policy. The Secretary for the Colonies at the colonial office in London could, however, veto any land settlement legislation proposed by the Executive and Legislative Council's in Natal.

A synopsis of who framed and enforced land and settlement policy in Natal from 1844 to 1910 follows. Three distinct eras are identified; two are relevant for this study. From 1843 until 1856, when Natal was granted representative government, the colony was subject to Cape Colony land policy, framed by the Secretary for the Colonies in

London. Representative government for British colonies during the nineteenth century was the first of three steps to total independence from the Crown. In 1856, British subjects in Natal for the first time voted for elected officials who would represent their desires when the Executive Council (consisted of 5 colonial officials appointed by the Secretary for the Colonies) and Legislative Council (consisted of these elected representatives, initially 12 members) met to propose, debate, and frame legislation. Land disposal and settlement legislation was part and parcel of this process. From 1856 until 1893, when Natal was granted responsible government (second of the three steps), land policy was framed by the Legislative Council **but** was subject to the Imperial Governments approval. The latter was at liberty to veto any land legislation it deemed not in the best interest of the colony. From 1893 until 1910 Natal enjoyed responsible government. For the first time in the colony's history land and settlement policy was determined by the inhabitants of Natal via the Legislative Council (L.C.) (nominated by the Premier of Natal) and the Legislative Assembly (L.A.) (elected officials).

CHAPTER 1

COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT: PREVAILING CONCEPTS/IDEAS

Anthropology, history and geography are a trilogy to be torn asunder only with severe loss of truth and of value to mankind (Fleure 1919:94).

Introduction

Terry Jordan's employment of the concept of wholesale diffusion in comprehending the colonization and settlement of rural North America represents one extreme on a continuum of concepts. On the other extreme is the idea of adaptation, espoused by Frederick Jackson Turner and subsequently embraced to some extent by Andrew Clark and many first generation Clark students at Wisconsin. A discussion of diffusion research is followed by a discussion of pre-adaptation, initial occupance, first effective settlement, culture conquest and crystallization, simplification, and fragmentation, as variations of the diffusion concept. The discussion then addresses the work of scholars that fall within the adaptation sphere including Lemon, Mitchell, Hilliard, Guelke, Christopher, Vance, and Earle and follows with a presentation of additional concepts employed by other scholars in comprehending European colonization and settlement. Although the ideas espoused by Meinig (macro-scale culture regions), Bjorkland (ideology and culture), White, and Haswell (both syncretism) cannot be classified as falling within the sphere of either diffusion or adaptation, these concepts are instructive when pondering, analyzing, and comprehending South African colonization and settlement.

Wholesale Cultural Transfer and Related Concepts

The majority of Terry Jordan's scholarly writing has focussed on the diffusion, implantation, and survival of European, particularly German, culture in Texas. *German Seed in Texas Soil* (1966) chronicled the German agricultural imprint in nineteenth century southeastern Texas. Jordan emphasized the unique contribution of German Texans to the settlement geography of Texas by quantitatively comparing and contrasting German agricultural practices with those of Anglo-Americans. Additional material cultural elements that distinguished German Texans from Anglo-Americans included language, diet, dress, burial patterns, and log construction. Continuing in the material culture vein, Jordan published *Texas Graveyards* (1982). In this necrogeography he wrote about Texas graveyards in meticulous detail always emphasizing the similarities between this outlier of German settlement and the European hearth. Besides Jordan's penchant for writing about German diffusion and concomitant colonization and settlement in Texas, he has also written about diffusion and the development of Anglo open-range cattle herding in Texas through diffusion from South Carolina (1981) and long-lot survey in Texas is traced to French settlement in Quebec, Missouri, and Louisiana with antecedents in central Europe and northern France (1974). Historians have also embraced Jordan-genre ethno-cultural diffusionist treatises when writing about the settlement of the United States. In *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (1989), David Hackett-Fischer identifies some twenty-six folkway indicators, ranging from speech and abstract belief systems to government forms and settlement patterns, that illustrate the existence of four geographically distinct culture

regions associated with Puritans, Virginian cavaliers and indentured servants, inhabitants of the pluralistic mid-Atlantic, and footloose backcountry pioneers in colonial America. More importantly, Fischer attributes these diverse American folkways to their British source regions, namely, East Anglia (1629-41), southern England (1642-75), the North Midlands (1675-1725), and North Britain (1717-1775) respectively. Fischer's well-structured and albeit simplistic argument stands in contrast to McWhiney's *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (1988). McWhiney bludgeons the reader with innumerable quotes in attempting to show parallels and continuity between Celtic Britain and southern herdsmen¹.

In recent years Jordan has shifted emphasis from diffusion to preadaptation as an explanatory tool when writing about European colonization and settlement in rural North America (1989b). Jordan and Kaups' monograph emphasizing syncretism (1989a) and Jordan's (1989c) identification of a highland and lowland cattle ranching model in Spanish America was preceded by Newton's provocative article (1974) on preadaptation and the Upland South. Newton adapted the concept of cultural preadaptation from biological preadaptation, particularly from Bock who had conducted research on biological preadaptation. Bock asserted that:

a structure is said to be preadapted for a new function if its present form which enables it to discharge its original function also enables it to assume the new functions whenever need for this function arises (Newton 1974:147).

¹ See also McDonald and McWhiney's, "The Antebellum Southern Herdsmen: A Reinterpretation" (1975) *The Journal of Southern History* XL1(2):147-166.

Newton in turn asserted that:

for cultural students, the preadapted "structure" may be an artifact, a complex of tillage concepts, a kind of social organization, or a similar cultural form or structure (Ibid:147).

Jordan and Kaups (1989a) and Jordan (1989d) apply Newton's concept of cultural preadaptation to explain the success of forest colonization in eastern North America from the mid-Atlantic culture hearth focussed on seventeenth-century New Sweden. They argue that seventeenth century Finns and Swedes resident in the Swedish colony on the Delaware were preadapted to forest colonization because they hailed from the European "hardscrabble periphery", also inhabited by Celts and Alpine folk, unlike Anglo-Americans who hailed from the "Germanic core". The latter was characterized by specialized adaptive strategies in contrast to diversified adaptive strategies of the hardscrabble periphery. This forest colonization complex or system was bequeathed to frontiersmen that succeeded the Finns and Swedes, namely, the Scotch-Irish. Their argument is hard to accept in light of other scholarly writings that attribute forest colonization and the breaking of the frontier to the Scotch-Irish (Evans 1965a, 1965b, and 1969). Similarly, on the Latin American cattle frontier, Jordan (1989c) asserts that the identification of an upland and lowland cattle ranching model is explained by cultural preadaptation that can be traced back to Andalusia and Extremadura respectively.

Kniffen (1965:551) coined the term "initial occupance" to emphasize the persistence and longevity of material culture associated with the first wave of pioneers irrespective of their numerical strength. Similarly, E. Estyn Evans observed that "the pioneer sets

a pattern that tends to persist" when evaluating the impact of Scotch-Irish frontiersmen on the settlement of the Appalachian Mountains and beyond (1965a:40 and 1969:74). In *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (1973:13), Zelinsky uses the concept of "first effective settlement" in delineating culture regions that arose when the Eastern seaboard was peopled. Zelinsky employs the first effective settlement concept to identify and delineate additional culture regions following eastward migration of pioneers from the New England, Mid-Atlantic, and Southern culture regions along the eastern seaboard. Although Kniffen's definition of initial occupance is especially circumscribed in that it specifically refers to diffusion and folk-housing, Evans and Zelinsky's (in particular) use of the concept on a continental scale in circumscribing culture regions in the United States is indicative of the concepts more general applicability. It may be applied to Dutch South Africa where the extensive Voortrekker pastoral cadastre, termed a leeningsplaatzen, left an indelible stamp on the colony of Natal's landscape even when Voortrekker settlement was superseded by British immigration and settlement. In fact, the idea of granting extensive tracts of land in particular geographical locations within the colony became the official British land policy later in the colonial period. Hence, Kniffen's words ring true in that:

The concept [initial occupance] is important because it recognizes the initial imprint as long lasting, surviving even where a new ethnic stock has succeeded the original settlers... (Kniffen 1965).

In a similar vein anthropologist George Foster uses the concepts of culture conquest and culture crystallization to view contemporary Hispanic American culture. The latter is the product of culture contact between a dominant Spanish donor culture and weaker

indigenous recipient peoples during sixteenth century Spanish conquest of the Americas. Foster is, however, critical of anthropological acculturation theory developed in the 1930's. This theory he asserts set the precedent for anthropologists to focus on the reaction of the recipient culture to the neglect of the dominant donor culture in the acculturation process. Because in most contemporary (circa 1960 when Foster was writing) acculturation studies one of the two cultures is dominant, slight modifications occur in the donor group in contrast to major changes evident in the recipient culture. Hence, the premise of this acculturative theory, namely, that anthropologists are dealing with groups of essentially equal power and cultural complexity in studying the acculturative process, is flawed. Therefore, in *Culture and Conquest: America's Spanish Heritage*, Foster's point of departure is to focus primarily on the characteristics of the Spanish donor culture rather than on the psychological and sociological reaction of the recipient peoples. Hence he uses the concept of culture conquest to understand the acculturation process. He identifies formal and informal processes in the process of culture conquest and subsequent culture change. The former may be equated with guided, planned or directed culture change directed by government administrators, armies, the church, trading companies and so forth (Ibid:12). Foster asserts that formal processes resulted in the abandonment of many traditional Spanish elements. A case in point being the replacement of traditional sixteenth century loosely planned or unplanned Spanish communities with the ubiquitous grid-plan town in the New World. In contrast to formal processes of culture change informal processes include:

...all those unplanned mechanisms whereby the personal habits of emigrants, their food preferences, superstitions, popular medicine, folklore, music, attitudes, beliefs, hopes, and aspirations are selected and maintained in the new country (Ibid:12).

The second concept harnessed by Foster is culture crystallization. Culture crystallization, analogous to initial occupance and first effective settlement, refers to the implantation of ideas and practices by the first wave of immigrants, in this instance those settlers from Andalusia and Extremadura in sixteenth century Spanish America. Ideas and practices include: type of agricultural implements and fishing nets, folk arts and crafts, social customs including marriage customs, and funerary practices. Through culture conquest we get the imposition of Spanish ideas through both formal and informal processes. We can assert that the imposition of ideas through formal processes tends to blur the relative contributions of Spaniards hailing from different source regions. Hence, the grid-plan town is meaningless for scholars attempting to detect the legacy of settlers from Leon in the America's for example, because the grid-plan town was a formal institution that had no regional Iberian precedents. Informal processes are more instructive when attempting to trace the diffusion of ideas (folklore, music and so forth) from particular Spanish settler source regions to the America's.

Foster does, however, note that the survival and subsequent impact of Spanish ideas through diffusion to the New World were eroded by a pair of "screening processes" so that the Spanish culture experienced was "simplified". First, settlers from source regions in Andalusia and Extremadura in western and southern Spain, for example, determine which parts of their cultural system will be made available to the recipient group. In turn, the latter select or have forced upon them only a part of what the

Spanish presented to them. Louis Hartz also argues for the simplification of European society overseas. He, however, claims that the simplification process starts in Europe because only a fragment of either Dutch, British or French society emigrates from the parent territory. Through prolonged isolation and independent development overseas the simplification process is exacerbated (Hartz 1964:7). Harris (1977b), in the same vein as Foster and Hartz, argued for the simplification of European society in the colonization of Canada, South Africa and New England. Harris contended that regional differences in settler source regions were lost in settings where land was cheap and markets poor. This resulted in homogenous and egalitarian rural subsistence societies (Harris 1977b:473). Harris and Guelke (1977a) elaborated on the simplification thesis in "Land and society in early Canada and South Africa." They contend that the simplification of rural society in early Canada and most of South Africa cannot be explained by Hartz's fragmentation thesis. Rather homogenous and egalitarian subsistence society was the product of the introduction of European ideas about family and land into new settings where land was cheap and markets were poor. In conclusion, Foster, Hartz, and Harris therefore all argue for the simplification of European society overseas. Each, however, offers a different mechanism for the simplification process. Foster claims selective presentation of European ideas overseas, Hartz asserts fragments of European society emigrate, and Harris argues that it is the encounter with a new environment that results in simplification of European society.

Adaptation and Related Concepts

The theme of adaptation in European colonization and settlement characterized the contribution of Andrew Hill Clark and many of the nineteen first generation Clark School students. North-western European migration, settlement, and concomitant transferal of ideas, fauna, and flora associated with commercialism to geographical locations outside of the European culture hearth was the hallmark of Andrew Clark's academic endeavors. In the preface to *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals: The South Island*, Clark asserted that:

This is intended to be the first of a series of studies dealing with similar problems of the development of patterns and practices of land use in mid-latitude areas overseas which were settled by folk from the shores of the North Sea. Most of the evidence for such a study in Maritime Canada has already been assembled, and visits to both South Africa and Australia for the purpose are projected (Clark 1949:vi-vii).

Although Clark's dissertation exemplified the influence of Sauerian cultural geography, his two later monographs reflected his growth and penchant for considering land-use associated with economy as a central theme in comprehending European colonization and settlement in mid-latitude geographical settings. In 1959, nearly fifteen years after the publication of *South Island*, Clark published *Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada*. In 1968 *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* was published. All three monographs were treatises concerned with the European transformation of newly settled locales through the introduction of plants and animals associated with their economic enterprises. Furthermore, the theme of European expansion and settlement was also the focus of many first-generation Clark students. Quite fittingly this theme

was selected by Clark's students to celebrate his legacy and contribution to historical geography in, *European Settlement and Development in North America Essays on Geographical Change in Honour and Memory of Andrew Hill Clark* (Edited by Gibson 1978). I discuss the contributions of three Clark students, namely, Lemon, Mitchell, and Hilliard.

In the *Best Poor Man's Country* (1972), Lemon concluded that the inhabitants of pluralistic southeastern Pennsylvania pursued the ideal of private land-ownership, manifest in the family-farm. This liberal philosophy blurred the distinction between people of diverse ethno-cultural societies and served as a settlement model for the mid-west after the Appalachian mountains were traversed. Lemon negated Turner's contention that a map of limestone soils was conterminous with German settlement. Similarly, Mitchell (1977) concluded that pioneer settlement in the eighteenth century Shenandoah Valley was driven by commercialism. Pioneers on the frontier profited from both agricultural pursuits and through taking up occupations in service-related activities along the valleys rudimentary road-network. In *Hogmeat and Hoecake* (1972), Hilliard dismissed the view that the South, characterized by large plantations, was dependent on the Old Northwest for sustenance including pork and corn. Furthermore, the South was not a monolithic geographical region characterized by wealthy planters who inhabited, opulent plantation homes located on extensive cotton plantations and worked by numerous gangs of slave-labor. More accurately, Southern agricultural society was diverse in terms of wealth and food self-sufficiency. Agriculturalists therefore occupied a point on a continuum that ranged from wealthy plantation owners,

dependent on other sources for food, to small family-farmers who produced plantation staples for market as well as food for domestic consumption. In the aforementioned examples, patterns of European settlement reflect processes of adaptation that turn on economy and society. The influence of Turner's frontier writing and other neo-Turnerians, particularly Billington, in terms of settlement being dynamic and continually evolving, is evident in Clark's students' work. In short, as Turner asserted, American society and institutions were a pale reflection of their European antecedents. Merren's (1964) and McQuillan's (1990) settlement geographies of eighteenth century North Carolina and central Kansas (1875 to 1925) respectively point to adaptation rather than wholesale diffusion from a particular source region to a new geographical locality in the settlement process.

Leonard Guelke (1974, 1976, 1983 and 1985) and Anthony Christopher's (1968, 1969a and b, 1971 and 1983a) research chronicling the historical settlement geography of the Cape Colony (1652 to 1779) and Natal (1838 to 1910) respectively reflects their association and familiarity with American historical geography. Furthermore, both write their colonization and settlement geographies of these maritime colonies through the lens of land-use that is the product of processes that unfold in new economic and physical environments.

Guelke concludes (1974:380-397 and 1976) that conditions in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Cape Colony gave rise to the founding of a new society markedly different from the parent Dutch society. Socio-economic and cultural conditions in the Netherlands during the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not

of direct importance to the evolution of Dutch society at the Cape (Personal Communication 1993). Ideas brought by D.E.I.C. officials, servants, and slaves from Batavia and other socially permissive and less stratified Dutch possessions in the East Indies were probably more important than those emanating from the Netherlands. Guelke contends that trekboers were pushed rather than pulled to the frontier because they could not compete with wealthy, established wheat and wine farmers (1983) on piedmont sites closer to Cape Town. Guelke concludes that cattle grazing on extensive loan-farms (leeningsplaatzen) was an adaptation to economic circumstances in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Cape Colony under the control of the Dutch East India Company. Furthermore, Guelke has postulated (1985) that two trekboer societies were discernible on the Cape frontier society; one of inclusion, another of exclusion. The latter comprised trekboers who, as forefathers of the Voortrekkers, differentiated between Christian, equated as white, and black heathen Khoikhoi. This philosophy which shaped South African race relations, was carried by Voortrekkers when they embarked on the Great Trek to the South African interior and Natal and manifest itself in settlement policy (See Chapter 5). Inhabitants on the frontier of inclusion included ostracized trekboers who entered Khoikhoi society and were the progenitors of an eighteenth century mixed European-Khoikhoi people called the Rehobother Bastards (Guelke 1985:444). Guelke has also written about demographic characteristics of the Dutch colonial settler population (1988) and more recently Guelke and Shell (1992b) have couched trekboer settlement at the Cape Colony in ecological terms, concluding that trekboers systematically dispossessed Khoikhoi of their ancestral land which

contained pasture and water resources. Guelke's belief that Dutch settlement geography at the Cape Colony is attributable to adaptation is succinctly captured in the opening sentence of a recently published comparative analysis of settler colonialism in Virginia and Dutch South Africa. Guelke asserts that "the Europeans who settled Virginia and South Africa created new colonial communities and landscapes" (1992a:137).

Christopher's doctoral research (1969a) was an exhaustive quantitative documentation of farm disposal in Natal from 1838 until 1910. Moreover, Christopher emphasized the contrasting Dutch-Afrikaner (1968) and Anglo (1969b and 1971) land disposal and settlement models. The extensive, open-range grazing model of the Voortrekker Volksraad (1838 to 1843) was, however, simply ascribed to tradition on the Cape frontier that was replicated in Natal. Furthermore, he concluded that British land and settlement policy in Natal was a failure, using the Colonial Reformer's settlement model that specified sale of 20-acre farms in freehold as a benchmark, and attributes this failure to the imposition of an Imperial settlement model that was unsuited to Natal's economic and environmental reality. One is left with a lingering image of three geographically distinct Nats; British, coastal Natal, characterized by a modified Imperial agricultural settlement model and Dutch-Afrikaner interior Natal where the semi-nomadic pastoral settlement model of the Volksraad was discernible. Moreover, Natal's indigenous people are relegated to numerous fragmented Native Locations interspersed between British and Dutch-Afrikaner Natalians.

In this dissertation I view Christopher's quantitative findings within the context of British and Voortrekker settlement policies and institutions (ie. units of measure,

defensive structures, morphology of urban places, place-names and so forth). Qualitative data pertaining to British and Dutch-Afrikaner settlement policy and institutions were obtained from records of the meetings of Natal's Executive (1842-1858) and Legislative Council (1856-1879), Natal Government Gazettes (1856-1879), Native Commission Reports (1852-53 and 1880-81), British Parliamentary Papers, Select Documents of the Legislative Council, and the Minutes of the Voortrekker Volksraad Meetings (1838-1843) (Notule van die Natalse Volksraad, hereafter S.A.A.R.). The culture region models I postulated in chapter 5 and in chapter 7 point to ethno-cultural interaction in colonial Natal and the making of a South African settlement system that reflects each ethno-cultural society's shared contributions.

The contributions of Vance and Earle may be characterized as falling within the sphere of adaptation in the colonial period. Vance's Mercantile model (1970) provides a conceptual framework within which to comprehend the impact of the homeland's mercantile ideology on the subsequent settlement geography of a colony. Prior to the imposition, however, of European ideas manifest in the tangible form of "points of attachment" that link the colony with the homeland and hinterland respectively, European explorers make their first contact with the indigenous peoples during their reconnaissances aimed at "testing of productivity". If the latter is in the affirmative the seeds of European capitalist ideas are transferred to the colonies where they germinate on colonial soil. In some colonial contexts capitalist ideas may not be the catalyst for the establishment of port settlements as nodes of activity. Both Cape Town and Durban during the second half of the seventeenth century and the second half of the nineteenth

century respectively are cases in point. The former was established by Jan van Riebeeck for the Dutch East India Company in 1652 to serve as a victualling station for the Company's ships making the arduous journey between the United Provinces and Batavia. Similarly, Durban functioned as a port of entry for British colonial officials after Natal was annexed from the Dutch by Britain in 1844. Natal was not annexed for colonial economic exploitation. Rather the Victorian paternalistic ethos of the times moved the Imperial Government to annex a Voortrekker sovereignty that was judged guilty of inhumane treatment of the "kaffirs". Such treatment fomented turmoil within Natal which the Imperial Government feared would spill over into the adjacent volatile Cape Colony and incite the Xhosa to revolt. Although Vance's Mercantile model emphasizing trade was not applicable to initial European settlement in South Africa, later in the 1860's British colonial officials consciously developed Durban to function as an entrepot. Wool from the interior and sugar-cane from the coastal regions of Natal were important hinterland commodities. This later development is evidence of the imposition and survival of British capitalist ideas adapted to particular staples in the expansion of European colonial settlement.

Earle's Monopolist-migration model, in contrast to the Mercantile model, places emphasis on political-administrative and demographic variables rather than the role of trade in the location and early growth of frontier towns during the seventeenth century (Earle 1977:34). Particularly instructive for my research in colonial Natal are his conclusions concerning official English perceptions of what purpose towns served and ideas regarding their location and frequency. He found that the location and frequency

of initial towns in North America was determined by English monopoly colonization policy which resulted in one town per colony centrally located on the coast (Ibid:47). Again the importance of a European idea diffused across the Atlantic and took root in a colonial setting:

Between 1585 and 1682, the establishment of an English colony was synonymous with the founding of an urban place, a chief town. ...In the New World filled with licentious natives and beguiling wilderness, the cultural veil might prove insufficient. Barbaric, wayward colonists would threaten not only the colonial enterprise but also the very fabric of English culture. ...To prevent this erosion of culture, the English turned to the town as the most basic and conservative of frontier institutions (Ibid:36).

In nineteenth century Natal the colonial officials held the same views with regard to the importance of urban nodes of settlement in pioneer frontier life. Hence, in 1847 urban centers called townships were created for each of the six magistracies into which the colony was divided to serve the needs of the surrounding population. In addition to the establishment of one township per magistracy, a handful of other settlements called villages were created in each of the magistracies. The location of these townships and villages, with the exception of Pietermaritzburg and Durban, was determined by infrastructural considerations. Rudimentary Durban and well-established Pietermaritzburg were founded during the short period (1838 to 1843) of Voortrekker hegemony and were occupied and expanded by British settlers after British annexation. Therefore, we find that the majority of these townships and villages were situated along wagon roads; at wagon drifts and fords along rivers; and at spruits situated on abandoned Voortrekker farms where water was prevalent (B.P.P. 1851:30-35). The aforementioned geographical pattern of townships and villages was therefore predicated

on European ideas that settlements must exist to serve as administrative centers for specifically demarcated administrative regions, in this case the magistracy. However, decisions as to where these urban centers were to be located was decided by pre-existing Voortrekker patterns and by the location of natural geographical features.

The central theme in Earle's interpretation of colonization and settlement is adaptation, particularly urban economic and ecological. The former is illustrated in the role of tobacco in shaping decentralized urban settlements in the colonial Chesapeake settlement system (1975) and in the establishment, growth, and dominance of towns in the seventeenth-century North American colonies that were peopled by free-family migrants fleeing religious persecution and economic depressions (1977). The theme of ecology in the settlement process is underscored by the failure of the Jamestown settlement because of the Virginia Company's initial misunderstanding of seasonal changes in the James river estuarine environment that resulted in settler death from waterborne diseases (1979).

Other Concepts/Ideas

The concept of macro-scale culture regions is employed by Donald Meinig in his geographical interpretations of settlement associated with European imperialism. Meinig's penchant for the region is evident in his prolific scholarly works that have included geographical interpretations of the nineteenth century South Australian wheat frontier (1962), the Great Columbia Plain (1968), Imperial Texas (1969), the American Southwest (1971), and the continental United States from 1492 to circa 1800 in *The Shaping of America* (Volume I:1986). In the latter, a synthesis of historical and

geographical scholarly writing, Meinig delineates some two dozen sociogeographic entities (1986:86) in his entertaining and novel geographical interpretation of the shaping of America.

Meinig has also postulated a four-stage model that conceptualizes the American West as a set of six dynamic regions whose relations with each other and the American nation as a whole become more complex as they move from stage 1 (nuclear) through to stage four (metropolitan-national) (1972). Four regional features, namely, population, circulation, political areas, and culture are used to measure the degree of interaction and hence the stage of each region in the American West. This four-stage model is instructive when Natal is conceptualized as a region surrounded by indigenous Kingdoms, including the Zulu and Basotho on Natal's northern and western border respectively, as well as scattered chiefdoms within the colony's boundaries. When the four regional features are considered through time and space, Natal's evolving settlement geography through time becomes apparent. Furthermore, I have found Meinig's delineation of core, primary domain, secondary domain, and sphere culture regions as well as his recognition of zones of penetration employed in *Imperial Texas* (1969) and the Mormon culture region (1965) invaluable in assessing Dutch-Afrikaner, British, and indigenous Natalians contributions to the making of the Natal settlement system in the forty-year period that commenced in 1838.

Finally, Meinig's Geographic model of Interaction (1986:67-68), his threefold classification of indigenous-European relations (Ibid:71-72), and his cultural divergence model (Ibid:265-267) are instructive when applied to colonization and settlement in

Natal. The eight-stage Geographic model of Interaction that commences with exploration and ends with the plantation of an imperial colony links parent territory and colonial outpost in a two-way flow of people and ideas. Meinig noted that once colonies were established, European-indigenous relations witnessed could be characterized as expulsion (Example: Virginia), articulation (Canada and the fur trade), or stratification (Mexico). His cultural divergence model, predicated on distance decay from the European and colonial core, may be applied at different scales in comprehending colonization and settlement in Natal, namely, the continental scale, the inter-colonial scale, and the intra-colonial scale. At the continental scale, cultural divergence in Natal may be gauged with reference to nineteenth century Britain and the seventeenth century Netherlands to a lesser extent. In the settlement of Natal and the Cape Colony there was a continual flow of ideas between the two colonies; accommodation of their indigenous populations has been one such example. In a comparative context, these two colonies therefore serve as laboratories to detect similarities and/or differences in the evolution of European ideas in two colonial settings where administrations were confronted by a plethora of problems that arose in the colonization process. Similarly, at the intra-colonial scale the magisterial division and individual towns and villages provide the context for elucidating the relative persistence and/or change of British ideas and institutions in Natal.

Historian Richard White (1991) employs the "middle ground" concept in writing about European-indigenous interaction associated with colonization of the Great Lakes region from 1650-1815. White concludes that colonization was articulated on the

"middle ground" where Algonquin, French, and Spanish ethno-cultural societies jointly fashioned settlement and concomitant economic (eg. trade) and socio-cultural (eg. protocol and punishment following death by murder) institutions.

The persuasiveness of ideology and cultural persistence has been demonstrated by Bjorkland (1964:228) among Dutch-Reformed communities comprising 40,000 people and occupying an area of approximately 444 square miles in contemporary (circa 1960's) southwestern Michigan. The Dutch-Reformed ideology, guided by three basic principles (Ibid:228-229), resulted in newly created cultural elements and their geographical expression. These innovations were "designed to support and propagate their ideology" [Dutch-Reformed] (Ibid:241) and did not reflect "known ways of doing things in the homeland [Netherlands]" (Ibid:241). Bjorkland also asserts that ideology may be expressed in a variety of ways resulting in area differentiation and cites the construction of a rigid social system by descendants of Dutch South Africans as one manifestation of this same Dutch-Reformed ideology (Ibid:241).

Haswell's research on South African townscapes has focussed on morphological features characteristic of Dutch-Afrikaner dorps² and British towns. The diversity and uniqueness of these urban places is most explicitly stated in "South African towns on European plans" (1979) where Haswell asserts that:

The towns and cities of South Africa were established by people of either English or Dutch descent, whose different backgrounds led to townscapes of considerable diversity (1979:686).

² Dorp is the Dutch-Afrikaner word for a town; dorpe is the plural form of dorp.

The distinguishing feature in their backgrounds turns on livelihood, namely, Dutch agricultural and English commercial lifestyles and their resultant architecture and town planning. Although Haswell emphasizes the differences between Weenen and Richmond, creations of the Dutch-Afrikaner and British in Natal respectively, he also asserts that Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg are cultural palimpsests reflecting Voortrekker and Anglo influence (Ibid:694). Similarly, when he writes about the layout of Voortrekker dorps in Natal (1980), he demonstrates that difference in erf size (beach versus dry erven) in Durban is attributable to intercultural (Anglo and Dutch-Afrikaner) borrowing that produces "truly South African places" (1980:29). His identification and labelling of South African towns, independent of dorpe or settler towns, is brought to maturity in his later writing where he differentiates among seven types of Natal townscapes (1984). These include: Voortrekker, British settler, German, Indian, Company, Metropolis, and South African (1984:58).

Townscapes are labelled South African when any combination of dorp and town feature occurs in any individual urban place (See Table 3 for diagnostic dorp and town features). Examples of South African urban places in Natal include: Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Ladysmith. Although Haswell emphasizes the uniqueness of Anglo, Dutch-Afrikaner, Indian, and German townscapes in Natal's cultural landscape, he continually refers to blending of townscape features in the creation of South African places. This is demonstrated through an analysis of erven sizes (See Chapter 5).

Purpose of Study

When I initially embarked on this study, nearly three years ago, I was interested in looking for and documenting the distinctive imprint of Afrikaner and British settlement ideas in the archival record and the Natal landscape. My initial proposed dissertation title attests to this: European precedents for settlement and cadastral systems in Colonial Natal. However, the Natal landscape, like any humanly fashioned one, is richly imbued with meaning. As a South African, born after the implementation of Apartheid, and living in a world where it is taken for granted that one should look for differences between people and hence the places they inhabit, it was natural for me to highlight differences between English, Afrikaner, and indigenous ethno-cultural societies. Did we not then fight the Anglo-Boer War less than a hundred years ago and have we not subsequently continued to fight it in our everyday lives, at work, school, or play? I am also a cultural geographer with a fondness for the unique and distinctive. I liked the idea of diffusion; Terry Jordan's work in the United States was my window to viewing Natal. But the contents of the archival record and the symbols in the landscape pointed to interaction, coupled with compromise, in the making of the Natal landscape. Hence, in core Dutch-Afrikaner, British, and indigenous culture regions the imprint of these distinctive cultures, manifest in institutions and symbols, are detected. However, in transitional regions between these core regions, I detect compromise coupled with culture change. The Native Location is an example of a core indigenous culture region; Mission stations occupied by missionaries and christianized indigenous people represent a transitional culture region. My objective has been to understand the contemporary

Natal landscape through an investigation of its early colonial history. The thesis of this dissertation is that Natal's settlement system is a syncretic compromise of European and South African adaptations.

The words quoted at the beginning of this chapter written by Herbert Fleure nearly seventy-five years ago, are especially applicable to this study which attempts to comprehend the manifold changes that both European and Indigenous societies undergo when colonial settlement brings cultures of different technological complexity into contact. This is attempted through bringing the analysis of people, space, and time together. They are the concern of each of the three disciplines mentioned in Fleure's quote and will be brought to bear upon the interpretation of the Natal settlement system.

CHAPTER 2

THE FRONTIER: A CRUCIBLE FOR CULTURAL INTERACTION

Introduction

Colonization and settlement of areas outside of the European culture hearth, characteristic of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, resulted in the diffusion, implementation and modification of European settlement ideas in these new settings. Since this dissertation focuses on the diffusion, implementation, and subsequent modification of the British settlement system, through interaction with Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu settlement precedents in colonial Natal (1843 to 1879), I begin by defining the settlement system. Hereafter I turn to the frontier which is defined as an "inter-group contact situation" (Forbes 1968:206) where diverse ethno-cultural societies compete with one another to acquire, demarcate, and control land. Competition may ensue between intrusive and indigenous societies, between different indigenous societies, or between different intrusive societies. With this in mind, the Cape and Natal frontiers are presented within the context of three criticisms of the Turner frontier thesis which failed to consider Anglo-American\Native American interaction on the American frontier. This is followed by a discussion of American and South African frontier interpretations which may be broadly classified as either economic or ethno-cultural. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of indigenous ethno-cultural societies, including the western Cape Khoikhoi, Xhosa, Zulu, and indigenous Natal Natives. By placing indigenous South Africans in the narrative I emphasize, as have liberal historians, that South Africa was not a vast, open

geographical area settled solely by people of Dutch and British ancestry (Wilson and Thompson 1969 Volume I). Livestock herding coupled with semi-nomadic pastoral strategies and institutions characteristic of indigenous societies that constituted the East African cattle complex were fundamental to white frontier settlement in the Cape and Natal. This discussion of the origin, demographics, and general location of indigenous South Africans is a prelude to identification of institutions associated with open-range semi-nomadic pastoralism in chapter 4.

The Settlement System: A Definition

A synopsis of what I consider a settlement system is in order. As applied to the subject at hand, the settlement system is conceptualized to be an idealized model espoused by a centralized authority. The authority may be either an indigenous or European monarch dictating local pre-contact and colonial settlement policy respectively. The settlement template is flexible, however, and, in some instances, not long lasting. Once implemented, it is amended and revised by local colonial officials and chiefs; religious leaders; and Zulu, Afrikaner, and Anglo settlers, whose settlement ideals may be at odds with environmental realities or the images of the centralized power. The result is a settlement system which reflects compromise between macro- and micro-scale forces. The settlement system is therefore a manifestation of culture, that is, a way of living that carries messages about existence as well as ones of a more instrumental nature. It is the spatial, geographical framework within which a people bring towns and farms into existence; graze cattle, raise export and consumption staples; and erect edifices in which to govern, worship deities, and lay the dead to rest. To use

Tuan's (1989) nomenclature, "space becomes place" when it is imbued with meaning through, in this case, the settlement system, which acts as the framework within which people live and experience space. Furthermore, the settlement system may be constituted as consisting of numerous places ranging from frontiers and culture regions at the macro-scale to urban centers, towns, villages, churches, kraals and administrative buildings at the micro-scale. Hence, a change or persistence in the settlement system is indicative of changing (culture change) or lasting ideas (cultural persistence) of land use, form of land tenure and consequently the resultant cadastral pattern.

The Frontier in Colonization and Settlement

The nature of the cultural succession that [is] initiated in any frontier area [is] determined by the physical character of the country, by the civilization that was brought in, and by the moment of history that was involved (Sauer 1930:283).

A Frontier Concept

The application of Turner's frontier concept, although somewhat modified, in understanding European colonization and settlement has persisted in studies conducted by geographers and historians. But what exactly is meant when we speak of the frontier? Norton (1983) has proposed four frontier concepts that facilitate comprehension of the origins of contemporary landscapes (See Table 1). Norton's framework provides order to the frontier concept and is amenable to comparative frontier history¹.

¹ Mikesell was the first of many scholars to advocate a comparative approach to frontier studies because he asserts that "the aim of comparative [frontier] study is to

Table 1

A Summary of Frontier Concepts

CONCEPT	RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES
The Turnerian Frontier	Measure via agricultural intensity, cleared land instead of population.
The frontier as a zone of land competition	Nature and outcome of struggle; contemporary re-emergence as in South Africa.
Ecological Imperialism	Comparision of differing environments
Regions of recent settlement	Relate cultural to economic development; links to outside may remove distinct cultural landscape.

Source: Norton 1983

In this dissertation I consider the Cape Colony and Natal frontiers as zones of land competition between European (Vrijburgher and British) colonists and indigenous Khoikhoi, Xhosa, and Zulu ethno-cultural societies and between Dutch-Afrikaner and Anglo colonial administrations. My approach to understanding this "inter-group contact situation" (Forbes 1968:206) on the frontier is through culture contact and interaction. The dynamic interaction that ensued between different European and/or indigenous ethno-cultural societies in South Africa upon contact in 1652 and that followed in the wake of settlement expansion eastward from De Kaap gave rise to processes of conquest, imperialism, colonialism, miscegenation, acculturation, assimilation, and race prejudice (Ibid:207). The importance of viewing the frontier as a place of interaction between two distinct societies has been stressed by Mikesell (1960:62), Forbes (1968:205), and Lamar and Thompson (1981:7). It is on this score that Forbes has criticized Turner's frontier thesis because Turner failed to recognize the presence of Native Americans in his thesis. In short, Turner's view of the frontier is ethnocentric because, "the Indian also had a frontier, an area where his culture met that of the European. This Indian frontier surely is a part of the American frontier as a whole"

build a foundation for generalization that extends beyond the particular conditions found in a given area at a given time" (Mikesell 1960:65). Other proponents of comparative frontier history include: Forbes (1968) and Norton (1983). George Fredrickson's *White Supremacy A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (1981) and *The Frontier in History North America nd Southern Africa Compared* (1981) edited by Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson are examples of the comparative genre. The former focuses on racial inequality brought about through white privilege and dominance; the latter emphasizes contrasting frontier processes and concomitant political, social, economic, and cultural outcomes in these two frontier regions stemming from the expansion of European commercial and industrial capitalism.

(Forbes:205). Historian Richard White (1991) emphasizes the active role played by Native Americans in shaping settlement and institutions on the colonial frontier centered on the Great Lakes. He regards the "middle ground" as the product of Algonquin-European (French and Anglo) interaction, interdependence, and co-existence².

Similarly South African historiography remained eurocentric until the publication of the two-volume series entitled, *The Oxford History of South Africa* (1969 and 1971) edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, in which European-African interaction in the process of frontier settlement took center stage³. More recent works illustrative of this interaction or "inter-group contact situation" theme in the interpretation of the Cape frontier include Peires (1982), Mostert (1992) and Crais (1992)⁴. Unfortunately, South African frontier studies in this vein have been limited to the Cape Colony with particular emphasis on the eastern Cape frontier. An exception is Richard Elphick's monograph entitled, *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South*

² *The Middle Ground Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815.*

³ This volume is considered the watershed separating traditional British, Afrikaner, and settler historical accounts of South Africa from more liberal historians who included and gave serious attention to indigenous South Africans in their narratives. Liberal South African historians were, however, challenged and criticized by radical neo-Marxist historians in the early 1980's. Neo-Marxists contended that liberal-school histories were flawed because they ignored or gave scant attention to class, class-conflict, and overarching capitalism. These, they argued, were the kernel to comprehending South African society.

⁴ *The House of Phalo A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* by Peires. Mostert's monograph is entitled, *Frontiers The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People*. Clifton Crais titled his monograph, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in pre-Industrial South Africa: the making of the colonial order in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865.*

Africa which recounts the demise of western Cape Khoikhoi society and culture after intense culture contact with settlers of European descent. Western Cape Khoikhoi lineages, namely, the Cochoqua, Chainouqua, and Hessequa had more intense interaction with Europeans than the central Cape Khoikhoi lineages (Figures 5 and 6). The cultural attrition associated with this contact was largely a function of distance decay. Hence, disintegration of western Khoikhoi society was complete by 1720, after only approximately sixty years of contact with Dutch East India Company officials and vrijburghers. However, it was on the eastern Cape frontier that trekboer settlement expansion was momentarily halted when semi-nomadic trekboer pastoralists had to compete with Xhosa herdsmen for water and pasture resources commencing in the 1770's. After 1812 the British managed to expel the Xhosa from the Zuurveld, a zone of valuable grazing land between the Fish and Bushmans rivers, after nearly four decades (Figure 7)⁵. The zuurveld was the site of intense conflict and competition between trekboer and Xhosa semi-nomadic pastoralists. In contrast to the Cape colony, frontier processes arising in Natal, after Voortrekker-Zulu contact in 1838, British-Voortrekker contact in 1843, and Zulu-British contact in 1845 have received scant attention in the published literature⁶. To be sure, Giliomee (1981) makes only fleeting mention of frontier opening and closing in Natal; the Cape, Transvaal, and Orange Free State frontiers are discussed in detail.

⁵ A detailed account of Xhosa territorial dispossession is given in the last section of this chapter.

⁶ An exception is Duminy and Guest (eds.) (1989) *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History*.

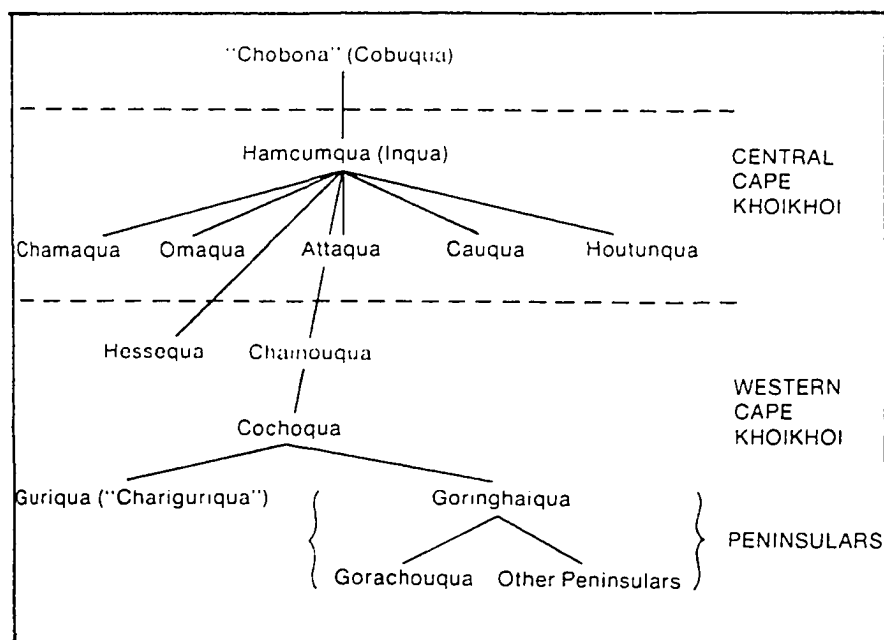


Figure 5 Lineage Patterns Among the Cape Khoikhoi
Source: Elphick 1985

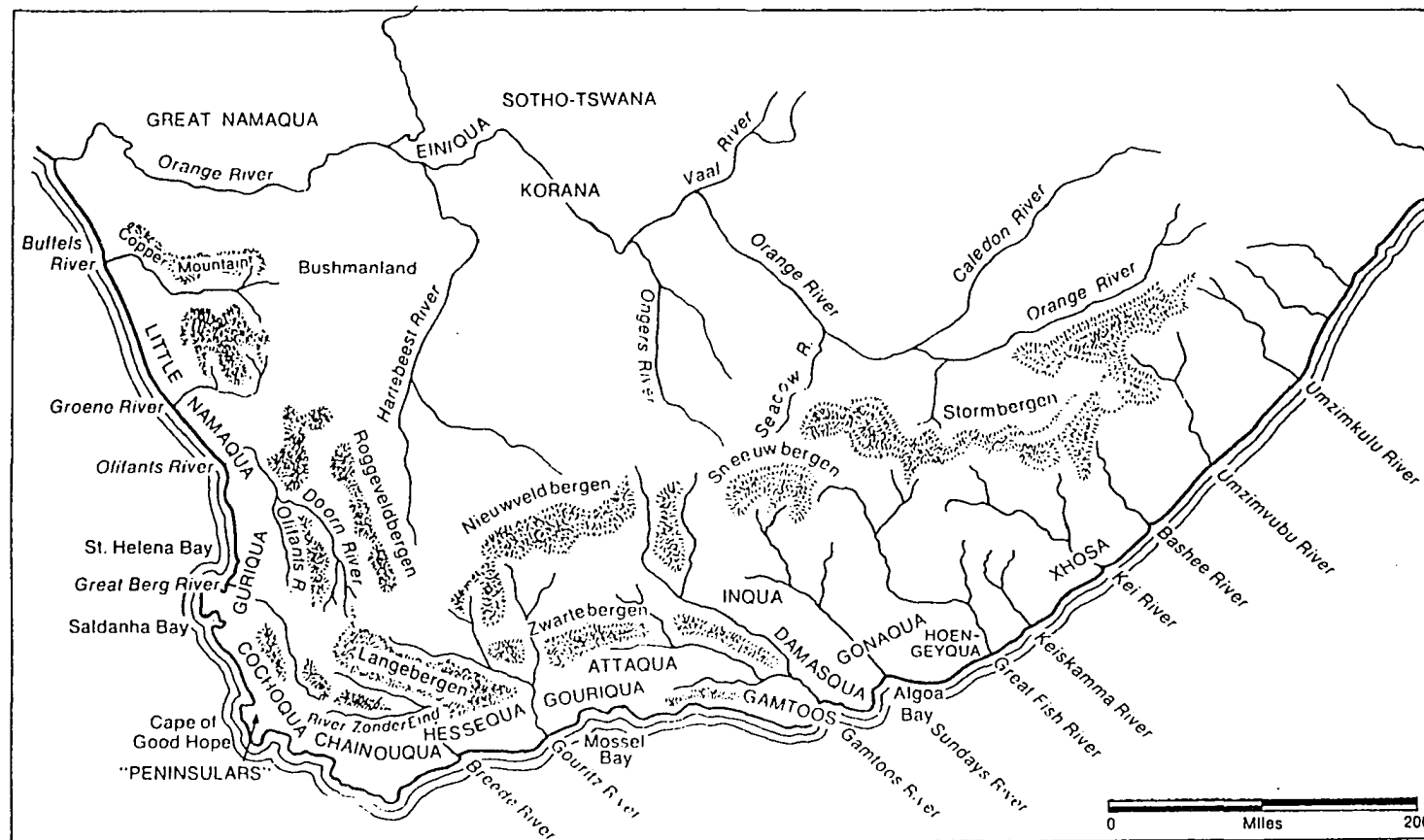


Figure 6 Approximate Khoikhoi Pre-Contact Settlement in the Southwestern Cape Circa 1650; in the Southeast Cape and Along the Orange River Circa 1750
Source: Elphick 1985

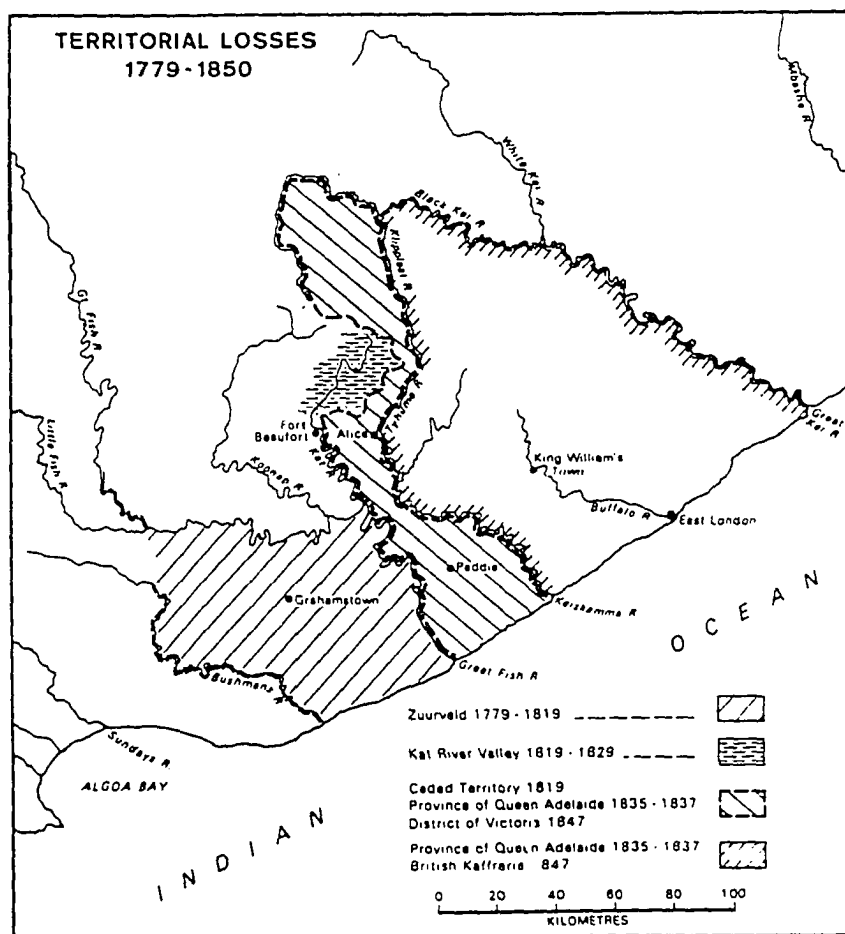


Figure 7 The Zuurveld on the Eastern Cape Frontier
Source: Peires 1982

A second criticism of the Turner thesis was his depiction of the frontier as economic advancement through space (Forbes 1968 and Newton 1974). In Turner's view the evolution of the American frontier was characterized by successive, predictable economic stages. He therefore beckoned one to "stand at the Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file" (Turner 1921:12). The observer would first see the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, then the Indian, followed by the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, and finally the pioneer farmer (Ibid). These sequential stages would be repeated as the frontier was pushed westward by Americans whose manifest destiny was the shores of the Pacific ocean. This assertion by Turner was unacceptable to Sauer who asserted that, "the cultural landscape is fashioned out of a natural landscape by a culture group," (Sauer 1925:115) with emphasis on culture as the agent in landscape transformation. Sauer notes that Turner's idea of sequential economic advancement through space is based on two postulates. The first, discredited by Eduard Hahn, assumes that all humankind pass through this normal evolution of economy. On the Natal frontier the Voortrekkers, who settled in the interior counties of Natal from 1838, are a case in point. They were the descendants of eighteenth century semi-nomadic trekboers who grazed sheep and cattle on extensive 6,000 acre landholdings on the Cape frontier. Their trekboer forefathers did not pass through these economic stages but remained semi-nomadic pastoralists for generations. Furthermore, those Voortrekkers who settled in Natal, after their exodus from the Graaff-Reinet and Albany Districts in the eastern part of the Cape Colony in 1836, practiced extensive pastoralism coupled with supplemental subsistence agriculture.

In Natal, extensive semi-nomadic pastoralism under the so-called Cape-Dutch land system (chapter 3) remained the livelihood of most Dutch-Afrikaner throughout the colonial period under study- approximately forty-one years in all. Hence, the longevity of semi-nomadic pastoralism in Voortrekker society and economy contradicts Turner's claim of predetermined successive economic stages in the frontier settlement process. Furthermore, a variety of economic pursuits may be juxtaposed simultaneously on the frontier since no society is monolithic (Giliomee 1981:8). Giliomee claimed that, "within a single society, different groups have different interests: fathers and sons; men and women; townspeople and countrypeople; and regional, ethnic, and class rivals. Occupational differences, especially among intruders, are often highly significant" (Ibid:9). In Natal the dichotomy between those people living in the so-called "agricultural" coastal counties and those residing in the "pastoral" interior counties attest to this.

Turner's second postulate, Sauer notes, is that all people moving onto the frontier revert to "primitive conditions" (Sauer 1930:282). As if in a state of amnesia they must relearn the skills of footloose explorers to start at the lowest rung of Turner's evolutionary economic ladder. Sauer is emphatic in asserting that. "...civilized man retains many of the attributes and activities of his particular civilization when he transfers himself to a frontier community. No groups coming from different civilizations and animated by different social ideals have reacted to frontier life in identical fashion. The kind of frontier that develops is determined by the kind of group that is found on it" (Ibid:282-283). In a similar vein Allen asserts that Turner's

emphasis on the modifying effect of the open frontier on American institutions and society (ie. adaptation) is absolute determinism⁷. Allen states that, "...what men are and what they bring with them, both consciously and unconsciously, when they come to the frontier, have far too great an effect upon their [frontier] development" (Cited in Mikesell 1960:71).

A final criticism of the Turner thesis is his depiction of the frontier as a boundary or line between different areas such as "the meeting point between savagery and civilization" (Eigenheer 1973:62). Turner therefore only identified one frontier. These traditionally single Turnerian and neo-Turnerian frontier experiences and interpretations have increasingly come under attack from geographers and historians conducting research within the context of multi-culturalism⁸. In fact, Kay (1990:619) and Crush (1992:12) criticize Clarkian historical geography for studying and celebrating the "expansion of Europe overseas" in North America and South Africa⁹ paying scant attention to indigenous societies in frontier settlement. The "new historians" are also shedding light on the multi-faceted nature of frontier experiences including those of

⁷ H.C. Allen (1959) *Bush and Backwoods: A Comparison of the Frontier in Australia and the United States*.

⁸ During a special session at the meeting of the Association of American Geographers in Atlanta (1993), that reflected upon the legacy of the Turner thesis a century after it was proposed, Leonard Guelke and Jeanne Kay were particularly critical of Turner. Guelke claimed that Turner's frontier thesis was eurocentric, nationalistic, advocated environmental determinism, and was rooted in social Darwinism. Kay criticized it for being androcentric.

⁹ Beyond the frontier: the new South African historical geography. In *Geography in a Changing South Africa: Progress and Prospects*, eds. Christian Rogerson and Jeffrey McCarthy, pp. 10-37.

women, Native Americans, and African-Americans¹⁰. These previously neglected frontier experiences and interpretations are overdue and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the American and South African past that is welcomed. These narratives should, however, be considered complimentary, building upon earlier scholarship with new perspectives. This dissertation builds on the work of two prolific South African historical geographers, in particular, namely, Leonard Guelke's research on the Cape Colony during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Anthony Christopher's on colonial Natal. I emphasize ethno-cultural contact and interaction in comprehending frontier settlement. Therefore, in the last section of this chapter, I introduce indigenous South Africans, namely the western Cape Khoikhoi, Xhosa, Zulu, and indigenous Natal Natives. Forbes (1968), Thompson and Lamar (1981), and Giliomee (1981) have identified more than one frontier in the United States and South Africa. Guelke (1985) identified two trekboer frontier communities in the eighteenth century Cape Colony. The first, and smaller of the two frontier communities included Khoikhoi, the other excluded them¹¹.

This idea of multiple frontiers may be applied to the settlement geography of South Africa, in general, and Natal, in particular. At different times and in different places it is possible to identify frontiers involving different people (Forbes 1968:212).

¹⁰ Richard White's emphasis on Native American-European interaction around the Great Lakes has already been mentioned. See also Patricia Limerick's multifaceted history of the American West entitled *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (1987).

¹¹ The Making of Two Frontier Communities: Cape Colony in the Eighteenth Century. *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 12(3):419-448.

Examples of frontiers in different geographical regions in pre- and colonial South Africa include: (1) Servants of the Dutch East India Company and/or vrijburghers and the Khoikhoi in the western Cape during the seventeenth century; (2) Xhosa and Khoikhoi before the arrival of European settlers in the eastern Cape; (3) trekboers and Xhosa in the eastern Cape from the 1770's to about 1812; (4) trekboers and British colonial officials in the eastern Cape after 1834; (5) Voortrekkers and the Zulu in nineteenth century Natal; (6) Voortrekkers and British Imperial government officials in Natal after 1843; and (7) Voortrekkers and the Matabele during the nineteenth century in the South African Republic. Collectively these individual frontiers produce what Forbes terms a frontier complex, that is, "a multiplicity of frontiers in dynamic interaction" (Ibid:213). Comprehension of the frontier complex is compounded in that frontier interaction may involve one intrusive and two or more indigenous societies or vice versa (Thompson and Lamar 1981:8). Furthermore, the indigenous people may be sharply divided and compete with one another on the frontier. This rivalry between or within indigenous societies often leads to alliances between the intruders and one indigenous faction as was the case with the Voortrekkers under Andries Pretorius and the Zulu chief Mpande in Natal (Giliomee 1981:91)¹².

¹² Mpande was half-brother to Dingaan the Zulu King. This schism between Mpande and Dingaan resulted in the flight of Mpande and his followers from Zululand to Natal (the border between Zululand- where the Royal Kraal was located- and Natal was the Tugela river) where the Voortrekkers took advantage of Mpande's plight. This example of tension between kin in the Zulu Royal family, which often resulted in the death of one brother, was not unprecedented in Zulu history. The brave and ruthless Shaka, who molded the Zulu nation into the most powerful indigenous military force in southeast Africa during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was assassinated by his brother
(continued...)

Interpretations of the American and South African Frontiers

Colonial North America

In the writings of historical geographers studying the colonial settlement geography of the eastern seaboard of America we can distinguish between two broad frontier interpretations, namely, economic versus ethno-cultural. Lemon in *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (1972) and Mitchell in *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley* (1977) demonstrate the predominance of commercialism on the frontier in these two regions within the mid-Atlantic colonial culture hearth. Mitchell in particular, notes the importance of commercial specialization (and identifies it in varying degrees) in the frontier economy after an initial pioneer subsistence period in the upper Shenandoah valley during the eighteenth century. Lemon demonstrates the insignificance of ethnicity in shaping frontier settlement in pluralistic Pennsylvania. He, for example, negates Turner's assertion that a map of limestone soils was conterminous with a map of German settlement. To be sure, despite Pennsylvanians diverse nationalities, denominations, and variations in wealth, these pluralistic societies had fulfilled their goal of freedom from institutional constraints. The settlers that peopled the rural midwest and the Upland South hailed from these two geographical localities, east of the

¹²(...continued)

Dingaen in 1828. The Zulu are a quintessential example of the instability and tenuous nature of the chiefdom, a centralized form of political organization. By contrast, band organization, tribal organization, (decentralized political systems) and state systems (centralized political system) are less unstable than chiefdoms (Haviland 1990:322-331).

Blue Ridge mountains. Lemon argues that mixed crop and livestock agriculture practiced by settlers in early southeastern Pennsylvania served as a model for the rural mid-west. Lemon notes that early Pennsylvanians were both liberal and conservative because they revered and pursued individual material success but at the same time wished to preserve freedom and privacy.

Further south in All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783, Earle¹³ demonstrates how plantation owners alternated between specialized and diversified plantation economic pursuits in response to fluctuating European tobacco market prices. This dialectic between specialization and self-sufficiency on the plantation is in step with the fluctuating concentrated and decentralized nature of urban settlement.

Proponents of ethno-cultural interpretations to frontier settlement include: Evans, Meinig, Zelinsky, Newton, and Jordan¹⁴. Meinig takes an imperialistic view of settlement in frontier regions through the identification of macro-culture regions, which

¹³ Earle's monograph is entitled, *The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783* (1975).

¹⁴ Examples of published work by these ethno-cultural proponents include: "The Scotch-Irish in the New World: An Atlantic Heritage" (1965a), "Cultural Relics of the Ulster-Scots in the Old West of North America" (1965b), and "The Scotch-Irish: Their Cultural Adaptation and Heritage in the American Old West" (1969) by Estyn Evans. *The Shaping of America A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History* (1986), *Southwest; three peoples in geographical change, 1600-1970* (1971), *Imperial Texas; an interpretive essay in cultural geography* (1969), and "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West" (1965) by Meinig. *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (1973) by Zelinsky. "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South" (1974) by Newton. *American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (1989) by Jordan and Kaups. "An Iberian lowland/highland model for Latin American cattle ranching" (1989) and *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth century Texas* (1966) by Jordan.

are the product of migrating, diverse ethno-cultural societies. Evans, Zelinsky, Newton, and Jordan place more emphasis on the diffusion of Old World culture traits/customs coupled with their implantation and persistence in new settings on the eastern seaboard of the United States during the colonial period.

The Cape Colony and Natal

In South Africa, frontier interpretations have for the most part been couched within an economic context. For researchers studying trekboer pastoralist expansion on the Cape frontier during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the issue has not being whether economic or ethno-cultural considerations were causal factors in frontier expansion. Rather the issue has, more specifically, turned on whether trekboer pastoralists occupied the commercial or subsistence niche on the economic continuum¹⁵.

The first question that has prompted conflicting explanations is, why did trekboers voluntarily move onto the frontier after government (Dutch East India Company) sanction in 1703? P.J. van der Merwe, an Afrikaner historian, considers trekboer movement (trekking in his nomenclature) a social and economic process that continued for two or more centuries after commencing in about 1707 (Hancock 1958:332). Van der Merwe asserts that population pressure was the impetus to pastoral expansion (Ibid:333). Hence, vrijburghers were pushed onto the frontier. Neumark (1957), an

¹⁵ The subsistence nature of trekboer society is discussed by Guelke in *The Early European Settlement of South Africa* (unpublished dissertation 1974:297-336) and "Frontier Settlement in Early Dutch South Africa" (1976:34-39). The question of whether trekboer frontier economy was subsistence or commercial has been debated by Guelke and Norton. See Norton's (1977) "Commentary Frontier Agriculture: Subsistence or Commercial?" and Guelke's (1977), "Comment in Reply" in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Volume 67(3):463-464 and 465-467.

economic historian, argued that trekboers were pulled to the open frontier because of the economic opportunities that beckoned¹⁶. Leeningsplaatzen is the Dutch term for a loan-farm, generally 6,000 acres in extent. If, as Neumark argued, trekboers were responding to market forces then one would expect to see an increase in the number of leeningsplaatzen being granted (that is an indicator of trekboers acquiring land in anticipation of making a profit) in those years when we detect a peak in the number of ships calling at the Cape. Conversely, one should detect a decrease in the number leeningsplaatzen being issued when the number of ships calling at the Cape decreases. This is clearly not the case (See Figure 8). Similarly, when meat prices are compared with settlement expansion (ie. number of leeningsplaatzen being issued) we note an increase in settlement expansion during the 1740's when the market was at an ebb (Table 2).

Neumark asserted that trekboers consciously invested their capital on the frontier rather than in wheat and wine farming, within a fifty-mile radius of Cape Town, because pastoralism offered them a better return on their investment. On the frontier land was plentiful and cheap (Guelke 1976:39). Trekboer frontiersmen could exploit their sheep and cattle herds and hunt wild game from which they obtained animal products such as butter, sheep's tail fat, soap, tallow, ostrich eggs and feathers, and

¹⁶ See Neumark's persuasive argument that trekboers were responding to the demand for meat generated by the numerous ships calling at the Cape in *Economic Influences on the South African Frontier 1652-1836*. Guelke (1974 and 1976), however, counters Neumark's thesis by demonstrating that there was a weak correlation between the number of ships calling at the Cape and the number of loan-farms (leeningsplaatzen) issued in the period 1716 to 1780 (See Figure 8).

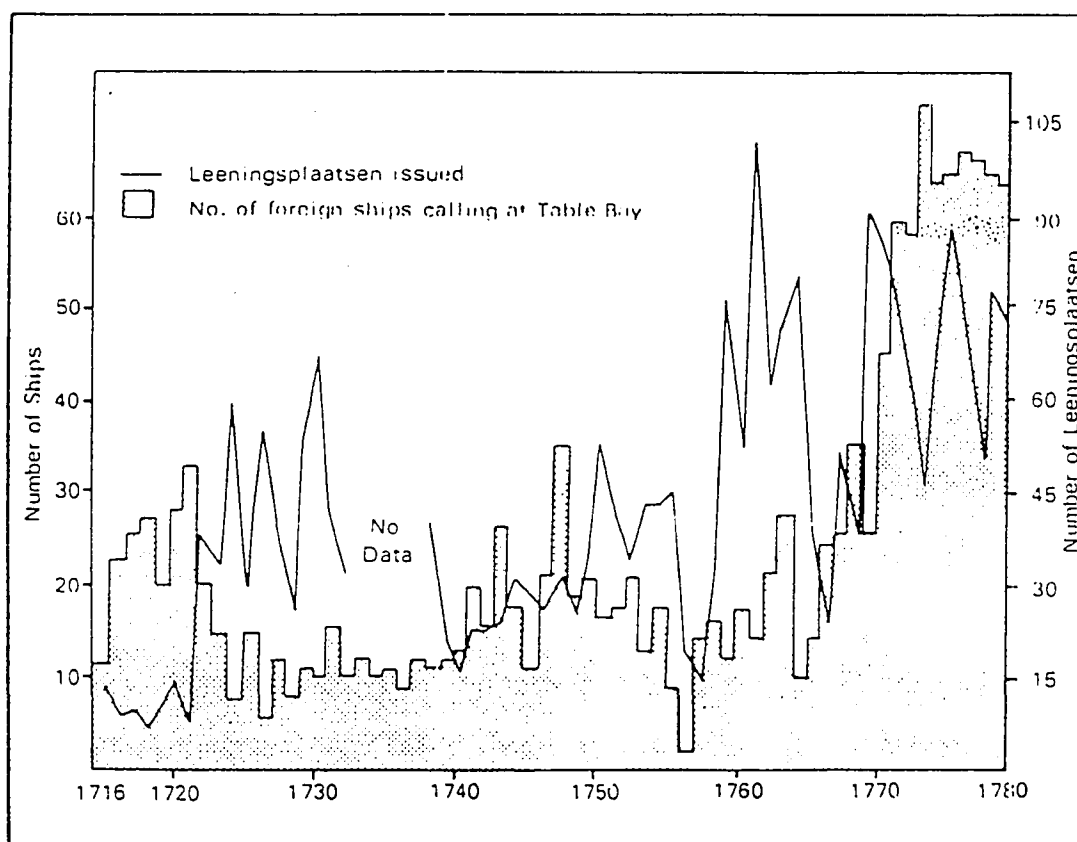


Figure 8 Foreign Ships Calling and Leeningsplaatsen Issued 1716 to 1780

Source: Guelke 1976

Table 2

Issue of Leeningsplaatsen and the Meat Market, 1738 to 1749

LEENINGSPLAATSEN ISSUED			
YEAR	NEW	REGRANT	TOTAL
1738	10	2	12
1739	41	4	45
1740	20	3	23
1741	17	21	38
1742	23	23	46
1743	23	13	36
1744	25	28	53
1745	31	15	46
1746	29	17	46
1747	27	18	45
1748	31	29	60
1749	27	23	50

Source: Guelke 1976

1738 – Data incomplete.

1744 – Before 1744 the market was depressed, with prices ranging from one to two guilders per sheep.

1746 – After 1746 the market improved somewhat and prices ranged from from two to four guilders per sheep.

hides and ivory. The demand for meat generated by Dutch East India Company and other foreign ships calling at the Cape, while either on route to the Indies or on military expeditions, coupled with the need for the aforementioned animal products by the inhabitants at the Cape provided the trekboer with a market. Guelke (1976), however, contends, as did van der Merwe, that trekboers were pushed, rather than pulled as profit-seekers from the settled peninsular in the southwestern Cape, onto the frontier. Furthermore, Guelke and Shell (1983) assert that vrijburghers unable to compete, because of insufficient capital, with an established gentry pursuing wheat and wine farming in the southwestern Cape had no option but to pursue stock farming on the frontier¹⁷.

Similarly, in colonial Natal frontier settlement research, as in the Cape literature, the primary emphasis has been on economic aspects of the various frontiers. Researchers have shown particular interest in the affects of the penetration of European capitalist economies on the indigenous population of Natal¹⁸. Etherington shows the success and creativity of the African response to capitalist frontier conditions. Slater refutes the "dual economy" concept, underscored by the assumption that white and black Natalians participated in two distinctive and unrelated economies, one a capitalist and the other a subsistence economy. Harries highlights the British colonial government's

¹⁷ Guelke and Shell (1983) "An early colonial landed gentry: land and wealth in the Cape Colony 1682-1731".

¹⁸ Norman Etherington (1985) "African Economic Experiments in Colonial Natal 1848-1880"; Henry Slater (1980) "The Changing pattern of economic relationships in rural Natal, 1838-1914"; and P. Harries (1987) "Plantations, Passes and Proletarians: Labour and the Colonial state in nineteenth century Natal".

response to coastal sugar planter's demands for a reliable labor force. The government's strategies of importing temporary Amatonga laborers from the Portuguese colony of Mozambique and of then controlling them, when in Natal, through pass-laws added complexity to the inter-group contact situation of the Natal frontier. In "Land, Labor and Capital in Natal: The Natal Land and Colonization Company," Slater (1975) demonstrates the failure of land speculators to obtain capital returns from their extensive tracts of land. Finally, the penetration of the European economy in colonial Natal is the common thread linking the wide-ranging essays, in the collection edited by Duminy and Guest (1989). The importance of economic considerations are therefore the point of departure in the two essays (Ballard and Guest 1989) concerned with the foundation and frontier expansion of white settlement in Natal.

Hattersley's (1950) research on the impact of British culture in the settlement of Natal, although in the ethno-cultural genre, may more accurately be described as social history when settlers of British stock came into contact with Voortrekker and Zulu societies already resident in the colony¹⁹. Haswell's research on Natal townscapes has by contrast emphasized the morphological and functional distinctiveness of towns and villages that were established by different ethno-cultural societies²⁰. In Natal, frontier towns and villages are associated with four ethno-cultural societies, namely, Dutch-

¹⁹ Alan Hattersley (1950) *The British Settlement of Natal: A Study in Imperial Migration*.

²⁰ Haswell's publications include: "South African Towns on European Plans" (1979); "The Voortrekker Dorps of Natal" (1980); *Cultural Townscapes and landscapes of the Natal Midlands* (1983); and *An Historic Townscapes Conservation Scheme for Natal* (1984).

Afrikaner, British, German, and Indians (Haswell 1984:13-61). Table 3 lists diagnostic features associated with two of the four societies townscapes, namely, British and Dutch-Afrikaner towns and dorps respectively. Furthermore, Haswell identifies the town of Pietermaritzburg, which was laid out by the Voortrekkers in 1838 and subsequently inhabited and embellished by British settlers, as a metamorphosed dorp, that is, "...the fusion of the two main contrasting traditions which have molded South African townscapes" (Ibid:49). The ethno-cultural component of frontier interpretations in South Africa, in general, and colonial Natal, in particular, has not contributed to colonial frontier interpretations to the extent that has been done in North American historical geography. In the highly pluralistic context of South African frontier society, ethno-cultural interpretations in the Meinig, Evans, Newton, Zelinsky, and Jordan mold have been overshadowed by a penchant for comprehending frontiers from an economic vantage point. On the eighteenth century Cape frontier I am not concerned with whether trekboers were "pushed" or "pulled" to the frontier. My concern is with the institutions that developed and constituted trekboer culture through the frontier experience (see chapter 4). These institutions, including transhumance migration, facilitated trekboer extensive open-range semi-nomadic pastoralism and a dispersed settlement pattern. In short, I am concerned with how eighteenth-century Cape-born vrijburghers became open-range pastoralists. To what extent did European, particularly Dutch, and indigene, first Khoikhoi and later Xhosa, institutions shape trekboer culture? On the eighteenth-century Cape and nineteenth-century Natal frontiers, I am interested in ethno-cultural contact and interaction-- the frontier is considered a crucible for ethno-

Table 3

Historic South African Townscapes: Diagnostic Features

DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES
<p>DORP</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Layout rectangular 2. Street system rectilinear: several long (and wide) streets, fewer (and Narrower) cross streets as a result of additions to original single street rydorp form 3. Street tree-lined 4. Most common street names Kerk, Lang, Boom, Loop, etc. 5. Water Furrows an integral part of the original layout 6. Rectangular blocks 7. Rectangular erwe which stretch from street to street 8. Homes and buildings right on the street line – original Cape Dutch or Voortrekker architecture followed by flat – roofed karroo style 9. Irrigated erwe behind houses – often diminutive tuishuise 10. A Central Kerkplein – church spire dominates the skyline 11. Cementry on the outskirts of original layout 12. The site of a true dorp facilitated the running of water down the long streets, hence often a spur site.
<p>TOWN</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Layout square/rectangular 2. Similar number and dimensions of long and cross streets, laid out simultaneously 3. Street named after royalty and colonial officials 4. Church and adjacent churchyard not located in a square or in a prominent site 5. Squarer blocks than dorp 6. Squarer lots with homes which conform to English architectural traditions located in irregular positions 7. Front gardens 8. Commercial activities an integral part of the town's function – general stores, bakers, mill, hardware, banks, etc. 9. Social Activities (cricket, tennis, bowls, horse racing, clubs, library, etc.) often set in central sites 10. The town hall dominates the skyline 11. Site chosen with administrative and/or commercial requirements in mind, hence often a drift site.

Source: Haswell 1984

cultural interaction. In the next section I discuss three indigenous ethno-cultural societies involved in these frontier processes. Eighteenth-century trekboers entered the Cape interior where Khoikhoi and Xhosa socio-political and economic institutions revolved around cattle. Voortrekkers who entered nineteenth-century Natal shared this with the Zulu. However, Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu, including Zulu refugees and indigenous Natal Natives (see next section), settlement geography in Natal, predicated on pastoralism, produced landscapes that conflicted with British agricultural settlement.

Indigenous Ethno-Cultural Society

Thompson (1990:10) notes that white scholars have found it difficult to differentiate among San, Khoikhoi, and Bantu²¹. Similarly, South Africans invoke the simplified migration model, based on mass folk migrations within Europe and to Britain in particular, commencing with the Romans and concluding with the Normans, in rationalizing "Bushmen", "Hottentots", and "Kaffirs" as distinct racial types in contemporary South Africa. The historical processes were, however, more complex than simple mass migrations into South Africa (Schapera 1930 and Elphick 1985). Culture contact and interaction associated with these ethno-cultural migrations resulted in biological and cultural blendings. The origin of the Khoikhoi and Xhosa attest to

²¹ San refers to hunter-gatherers, Khoikhoi to semi-nomadic pastoralists, and Bantu to mixed farming people whose economy included swidden agriculture, pastoralism, and metallurgy. Mixed farmers spoke closely related Bantu languages. We may distinguish between Zulu and Xhosa, dialectics of the Nguni language, spoken by mixed farmers below the escarpment. Bushmen, Hottentot, and Kaffir were pejoratively used by European settlers and sojourners from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries when referring to San hunter-gatherers, semi-nomadic Khoikhoi, and Bantu mixed-farmers. In contemporary South African vernacular these derogatory terms may still occasionally be heard.

this. It is speculated that one or several hunting bands consisting of Central "Bush" speakers in present-day northern Botswana obtained sheep and later cattle from pastoralists or mixed farmers²². Biological and cultural intermixture distinguishes taller, semi-nomadic Khoikhoi pastoralists, the product of this interaction who subsequently migrated (Figure 9) into present-day South Africa, from shorter San hunter-gatherers. Similarly, Khoikhoi-Xhosa intermixture after the middle of the seventeenth century is manifest in Khoi and San linguistic influence on Xhosa language; one sixth of all Xhosa words contain clicks (Harinck 1969 and Peires 1982:22-24). I discuss the origin, geographical distribution, and demographics of the western Cape Khoikhoi and Bantu, distinguishing between the Xhosa, Zulu, and indigenous Natal Natives since these ethno-cultural societies figure in the narrative of contact and interaction with the Cape-Dutch and British.

Khoikhoi

Following the pastoral revolution, the Khoikhoi gradually migrated southward from the hearth area, probably in search of water and pasture (Figure 9). Sheep and pottery fossils in the archeological record and glottochronological linguistic evidence indicate that the Khoikhoi inhabited the present-day Cape Province during the early Christian era, approximately a century or two after the pastoral revolution (Elphick 1985:12-13). But who were the livestock donors that brought about the pastoral revolution? Linguist Christopher Ehret (1967) contends that Central Sudanic pastoral communities, rather

²² Archaeological conjecture dates the pastoral revolution, manifest in Khoikhoi divergence from hunter-aborigines, to sometime in the centuries immediately before the time of Christ (Elphick 1985:13).

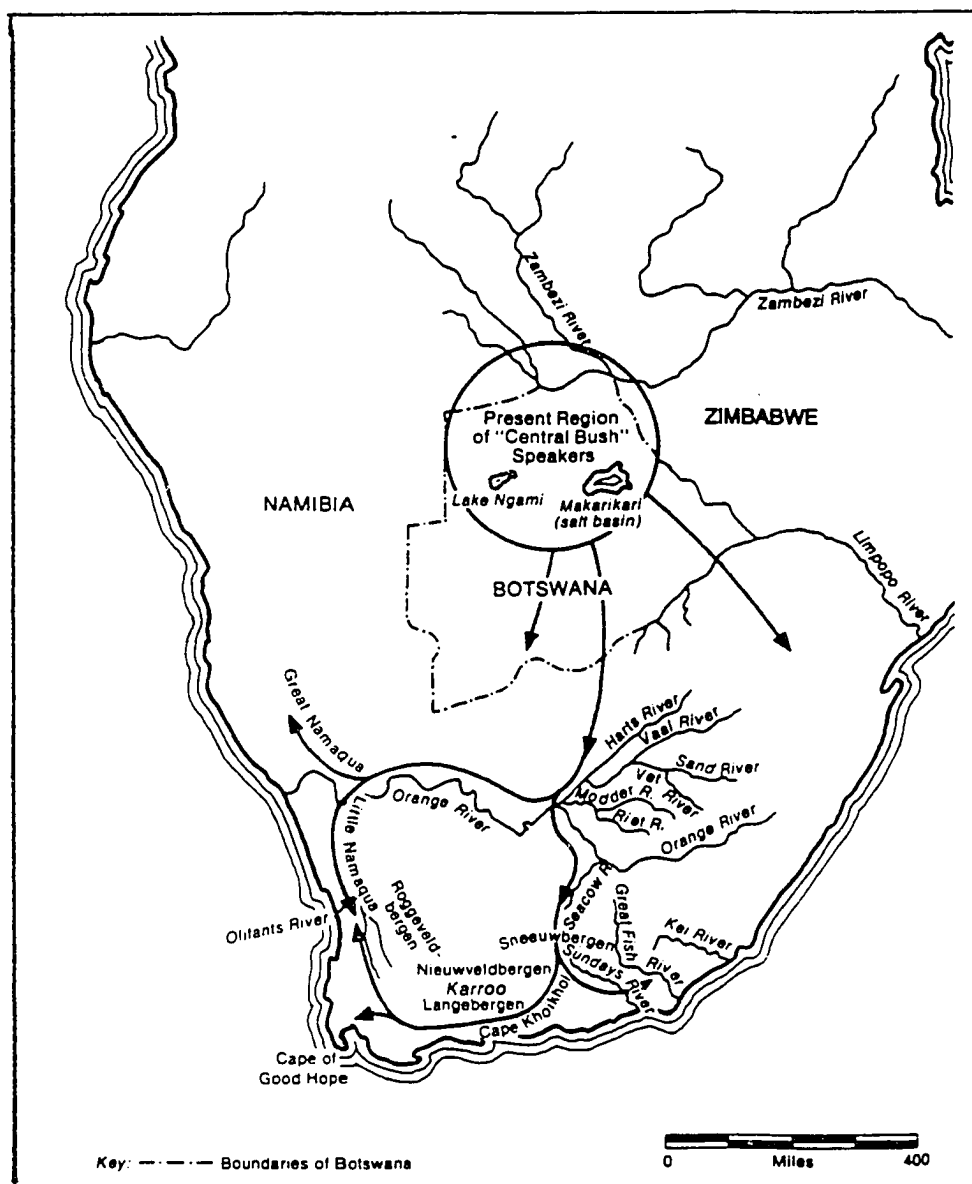


Figure 9 Suggested Khoikhoi Expansion Patterns
Source: Elphick 1985

than Bantu-speakers, were livestock donors since he has linked several Khoikhoi words for cow, goat, ram, milk, and ewe to Central Sudanic languages spoken by pastoral communities before the arrival of Bantu-speakers. Conversely, another thesis contends that the livestock donors were Early Iron-Age mixed farmers, perhaps ancestors of the modern Bantu-speakers. Furthermore, because sheep fossils dominate the Cape Province and Namibia archeological record, archaeologists have concluded that the San acquired cattle later than sheep (Elphick 1985:10-12). The acquisition of domestic livestock restructured San society since disproportionate livestock ownership accorded some individuals more power than others. Through acquiring and tending livestock domestically these San became the first Khoikhoi. Elphick notes that "the essence of the pastoral revolution was not the mere acquisition of stock but the development of the practice to let it breed before slaughtering" (Ibid:12).

Upon arrival in the southwestern Cape in the fifth century, the Khoikhoi ran across San hunter-gatherers who inhabited the region (Elphick 1985:12-13). Elphick offers an ecological cycle of hunting and herding to explain physical and cultural hybridization that obscured initial San-Khoikhoi differences through culture contact and interaction in the southwestern Cape. Two phases are identified in this ecological cycle, an upward and downward phase. The upward phase of the ecological cycle was characterized by San-Khoikhoi contact and initial conflict, followed by symbiotic co-operation (exchange of goods and services) that culminated in the incorporation of San as an occupational class (hunting) in Khoikhoi society. The upward phase was characterized by prosperity; livestock numbers increased, food was plentiful, hence Khoikhoi political units grew by

accretion as San were incorporated. Furthermore, Elphick notes that "the association of aborigines [San] with pastoral societies resulted linguistically in the spread of the Khoikhoi language, somatically in the emergence of a mixed people of higher stature, and economically in the diffusion of skills related to cattle and sheep raising" (Elphick 1985:37). The downward phase of the ecological cycle could be initiated when rainfall was insufficient or unreliable and/or an increase in livestock diseases. The poorest individuals of previously prosperous (ie. livestock and food) political units would eventually be forced to survive as hunter-gatherers. In lean years the size of individual Khoikhoi political units decreased as impoverished Khoikhoi entered San society exposing hunter-gatherers to their material culture and language. The downward phase was terminated when the aforementioned conditions that precipitated it were reversed. The critical threshold terminating the downward phase, however, was the growth of prosperous political units. When prosperous political units came into contact with hunter groups that had been enlarged or created through misfortune, the accretion of Khoikhoi political units commenced again. These complex pre-contact (European) San-Khoikhoi relations persisted after contact in 1652 and into the eighteenth century. European- and Cape-born vrijburghers who entered the Cape interior during the first sixty years (after 1657)²³ of European settlement at the Cape did not enter a vast, uninhabited part of southwestern Africa. Culture contact and interaction with the western Cape Khoikhoi produced trekboer culture, a syncretic compromise of European

²³ The D.E.I.C. granted nine former company servants their freedom to farm beyond the limits of the Company gardens on February 21, 1657. These vrijburghers were each granted farms of 13 morgen (28 acres) in the Liesbeeck River valley.

and South African adaptations (see chapter 4), dominated by extensive open-range livestock raising that increased the settled area almost tenfold between 1717 and 1770 (Guelke 1976).

Broadly classified the Cape Khoikhoi consisted of the Peninsulars, the western Cape Khoikhoi, and the central Cape Khoikhoi (Figure 5 and Figure 6). The rapid fragmentation of the Peninsulars is partly attributable to demographics. The Peninsular Khoikhoi population numbered between 4,000 and 8,000 individuals. Transhumance migration coupled with other western Cape Khoikhoi semi-nomadic pastoral institutions are instructive in understanding trekboer culture. Hence, my discussion focusses on the western Cape Khoikhoi. During the first sixty years of European settlement, the western Cape Khoikhoi collectively numbered approximately 66,000 people. Three distinct western Cape Khoikhoi lineages are identified, namely, the (1) Cochoqua (16,000); (2) Chainouqua (25,000); and Hessequa (25,000). Furthermore, the western Cape Khoikhoi were the wealthiest and most tightly organized in the western Cape (Elphick 1985:117). Of the three, the Cochoqua posed the strongest resistance to Dutch expansion; numbering between 16,000-18,000 souls and owning livestock whose estimates ranged between 15,000-16,000 cattle and sheep to 20,000 cattle (Ibid:118). The Cochoqua pastured their livestock north of Table Bay to the Great Berg river, sometimes as far north as the Olifants river. They also claimed the right to pasture at Saldanha Bay and on the Cape Peninsula. Although little is known of their transhumance migrations, it is known that during the early years of the Colony they migrated southward in the summer months of November, December, and January (Ibid).

The Chainouqua, numbering approximately 25,000 souls, pastured their livestock on the Breede and Salt rivers as well as the River Zonder Eind. In the dry summer months they would move their livestock westward, sometimes as far as the Hottentots Holland Mountains. The eastern boundary of their migration was marked by present-day Swellendam, on the Breede river; while they migrated as far as the shore in the south, the northernmost limit of their seasonal movements was unknown (Ibid:138). Although the territory of the Hessequa, the last of the three western Cape Khoikhoi lineages, lay east of the Chainouqua there was some overlap at their periphery. Hessequa territory was roughly delimited by Hessequas Kloof, ten miles west of Swellendam, in the west, and Attaquas Kloof, ten miles east of the Gouritz river, in the east. They occasionally camped at Mossel Bay and on numerous rivers including the Kaffir Kuils and Duivenhocks (Ibid:138-139). Within sixty years after the D.E.I.C. first established a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652, the western Cape Khoikhoi had succumbed to Dutch conquest. Through a combination of disease, particularly the smallpox epidemic of 1713; technology, namely firearms and horses; and bureaucracy, exemplified in the D.E.I.C. sanctioning exclusive European use of acquired land in freehold or on loan, Khoikhoi were dispossessed of their land, so that many lived on pastoralists' farms as servants (Guelke and Shell 1992).

Xhosa

The Xhosa were semi-nomadic pastoralists who inhabited the geographical area between the Cape Colony on the west and the Zulu Kingdom on the east. They are not descended from a great hero named Xhosa. It is believed that the Xhosa adopted their

name from the Khoi word "*//kosa*", meaning "angry men" (Peires 1982:13). The foundation of the Xhosa kingdom is explained by the story of Tshawe, dated to circa 1675 (Ibid:17). The first documentary evidence of the Xhosa dates to the eighteenth century when in 1736 their known ruler was Phalo (Ibid). The Xhosa Kingdom was, however, not as structured and centralized as that of the Zulu. Since "the limits of Xhosadom were not ethnic or geographic, but political: all persons or groups who accepted the rule of the Tshawe" were Xhosa (Ibid:19). The Xhosa constituted the southernmost extension of the east African cattle complex. The centrality of cattle in the daily and seasonal rhythm of Xhosa life, as with Khoikhoi, is reflected in the central position of the cattle kraal among the collection of kraals that constituted a Xhosa homestead or *umzi* (Mostert 1992:186). Furthermore, cattle figured prominently in Xhosa birth, marriage, male initiation and death ritual.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, trekboer eastward expansion was halted by Xhosa semi-nomadic pastoralists east of the Sunday's river. Estimates of the number of Xhosa involved in this process are inaccurate and contradictory. Peires (1982:3), after discussing the strengths and weaknesses of official, missionary, and settler Xhosa population estimates, concludes that circa 1800 the Xhosa probably numbered well under 100,000; possibly as low as 40,000. By 1850, he contends, that they numbered in excess of 100,000 souls. Crais (1992:17), however, notes that British administrators estimated (circa late 1840's and early 1850's) that the Xhosa numbered between 70,000 and 100,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In relative terms the Xhosa population exceeded that of the western Cape Khoikhoi, but was

considerably less than the Zulu population (see Zulu estimates below). Although Xhosa territorial boundaries fluctuated, between 1700 and 1850 their western boundary seldom extended further than the Sunday's river while the Mbashe river marked their easternmost boundary (Peires 1982:1) (Figure 7). This coastal zone, lying between the Great Escarpment, marked by the Sneeuberg and Stormberg on the west, and the ocean, on the east, was not uniformly inhabited by the Xhosa (Figure 10). The area of most concentrated Xhosa settlement was centered on the Winterberg and Amatole highlands. This area is drained by numerous rivers and consists of mixed veld, a combination of sweet- and sour-veld pasturage, that enables year-round grazing²⁴. Extreme winter temperatures and sourveld pasture north of these well settled highlands is not conducive to year-round grazing; while closer to the open, flat coastal plain there are fewer streams, less precipitation, and pasture resources are generally poorer than the interior (Peires 1982:2). The coastal plain sourveld, particularly between the Bushman and Fish rivers, provided nutritious pasturage only during the summer rainfall season (Mostert 1992:236). Hence, this zone of zuurveld was the stage of intense and violent Xhosa-trekboer contact.

The Xhosa were much more resilient than the Khoikhoi to trekboer expansion and subsequent dispossession. In contrast to the Khoikhoi who succumbed to D.E.I.C. control following Khoikhoi-Dutch wars in 1659 and 1673-77, the Xhosa held their ground during the first three so-called frontier or kaffir wars in 1779-1781, 1793, and

²⁴ In chapter 4 I discuss sweet-sourveld transhumance migration in the eastern Cape Colony and Natal.

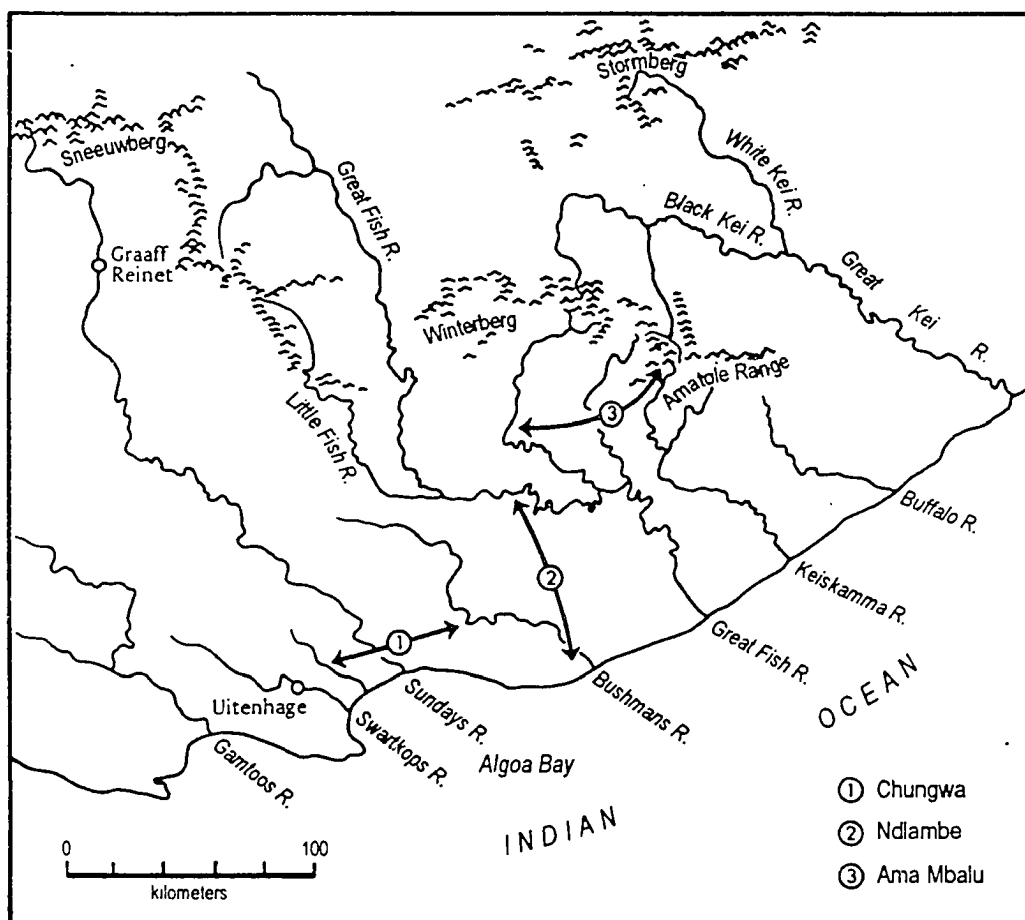


Figure 10 Xhosa Settlement and Transhumance Migration in the Eastern Cape Colony
Source: After Peires 1982

1799-1802 (Peires 1982:145 and Mostert 1992:230). Since the Xhosa and colonists fought nine frontier wars in the hundred-year period beginning in 1779, these wars have also been called the Hundred Years War. This prolonged Xhosa-colonist conflict attests to Xhosa tenacity and strength in repulsing the spread of white settlement east of the Great Fish River. In fact, these wars that occurred after the Cape Colony had become a British colony in 1805 illustrate sequential Xhosa territorial dispossession that culminated in the area west of the Great Kei river becoming part of the Cape Colony in 1866 (Thompson 1990:80) (Figure 7). To be sure, following the wars of 1811-1812 and 1818-1819, the Xhosa were forcibly moved from the zuurveld and had to reside east of the Great Fish river. Following the latter war, the area between the Great Fish and Keiskamma rivers was ceded to the British by the Xhosa chief Gaika (Figure 7). Xhosa residing in this neutral area were forcibly removed. After the imperial government sanctioned mass British immigration to the eastern Cape, approximately 5,000 British settlers were located in the Albany district, centered on Grahamstown in 1820. These settlers, separated from the Xhosa by the neutral ground, provided a buffer between the colony and the Xhosa residing east of the Keiskamma. The invasion and retreat of Xhosa and settlers into and out of this neutral ground continued for approximately fourteen years. In 1820-21 Rufane Donkin, Acting Governor, for example, sanctioned Xhosa and British military occupation of the neutral ground. However, when Governor Somerset returned in 1824 he abolished both Xhosa and British occupation of the neutral ground. Xhosa-settler cattle pilfering and confrontation during this fourteen-year period culminated in a planned Xhosa invasion of the colony at the beginning of 1835 and the

start of the sixth frontier war. Xhosa defeat in September 1835 was coupled with the annexation of all the land between the Keiskamma and Great Kei rivers as the Province of Queen Adelaide (Figure 7). Although the Imperial government nullified the annexation of Queen Adelaide shortly after its proclamation, the War of the Axe concluded in 1847 resulted in re-annexation of the land between the Keiskamma and the Great Kei. Now, however, it was administered as a separate colony, British Kaffraria (Thompson 1990:75-76 and Peires 1982:140-143) (Figure 7). In his voluminous account of the Xhosa demise, Noel Mostert (1992) asserts that trekboers were more accommodating than the British toward the Xhosa; trekboers basically became another frontier tribe whose livelihood was pastoralism and cattle their wealth. By contrast, British settlers were driven by social self-advancement. Indeed, they left Britain for that very reason. Hence, British rage when their possessions and property, representing social capital, were plundered and destroyed by the Xhosa during the frontier wars.

The Zulu, Zulu Refugees and Indigenous Natal Natives

At the outset, I should explain the differentiation between Natives, Zulu and Indigenous Natal Natives. I use the term Native in reference to any black African irrespective of ethnicity. The distinction between Zulu, indigenous Zulu, and Indigenous Natal Natives was first made by Henry Cloete in 1843 and again in 1848. In Cloete's judgement only the indigenous Zulu, numbering about 10,000 and settled south of the Drakensberg Mountains in 1848, who had entered Natal prior to the arrival of European traders and merchants in 1824 and the 3,000 to 4,000 Indigenous Natal Natives resident at Port Natal were entitled to land within the British colony of Natal. In Cloete's

nomenclature "indigenous" referred to those Zulu and Natal Natives who were living in Natal prior to British annexation (in May 1842) and the rapid influx of Zulu refugees commencing in 1838 and especially in 1843²⁵. Because of their *de facto* residence in Natal, Cloete recommended that they (a total of 13 000 to 14 000 natives) should continue to be governed by their chiefs who would designate land for grazing their livestock and cultivating maize, millet, water-melon, and pumpkin (Shooter 1857:16). The remainder of the 100,000 Natives resident in Natal by 1848 were Zulu refugees who Cloete argued had no right to land in Natal. Cloete asserted that these Zulu refugees should be "...accommodated in 6 or more locations some distance from the contaminating influence of the chief town [Pietermaritzburg] and port [Durban]" (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:81). Henry Cloete's 1843 and 1848 threefold differentiation between Natives resident in Natal and especially his recommendation for establishing Native Locations was the precursor to the fragmented Native Location model which was refined, implemented, and brought to fruition by Theophilus Shepstone between 1846 and 1876.

British and Dutch-Afrikaner settlers who entered Natal during the first half of the nineteenth century arrived in this part of south-east Africa approximately seventy-five years after northern Nguni chiefdoms started expanding, conquering, and incorporating surrounding, weaker chiefdoms to form rudimentary kingdoms. It was at the zenith of

²⁵ November 10th, 1843. Henry Cloete's report to the Governor of the Cape Colony on the settlement of the Natives in Natal, schedule of tribes originally settled there (*E.C. Volume 2 1846-48:77-81*); August 10th, 1848. Recorder's [Henry Cloete's] opinion on the British Government's proposal to make Natives subject to Native, rather than European law (*Ibid:319-322*).

the Zulu kingdom, when King Shaka was at the helm, that British traders (circa 1824) established rudimentary settlements in the environs of Port Natal. In this section, I discuss the geographical extent of the Zulu territory including the number of Zulu inhabitants and their general settlement pattern from 1816 to 1879. Before proceeding it is necessary, however, to note the context of Zulu hegemony. A discussion of the context within which Nguni kingdoms originated and flourished is instructive because it sheds light on the antecedents of the Zulu kingdom and chronicles its origin, growth, and hegemony in southeast Africa from its inception in 1816 until its defeat at the hands of the powerful British military in 1879.

Context

The expansion and centralization of individual chiefdoms, between Delagoa Bay (roughly the Pongola river area) on the north and the Tugela river on the south and the Great Escarpment and the Indian ocean on the west and east, respectively, commenced in about 1750 (Wright and Hamilton 1989:59; Thompson 1990:83). Prior to this date the northern Nguni, Bantu-speaking people, who had migrated into south-eastern Africa during the mid-fifteenth century, were divided into numerous tribes united under individual chiefs. The constituent part of the tribe were the numerous homesteads that consisted of male agnates and their families (Gluckman 1947:25).

A number of explanations, each emphasizing different factors for the processes of centralization and expansion of chiefdoms, have been postulated. Generally speaking, we may differentiate between internal and external explanations. Amongst the former are (1) Bryant's "Great Man" theory; (2) the demographic argument (Gluckman 1940a

and b, 1960, 1974; Omer-Cooper 1966); and (3) the ecological argument (Guy 1980). In short these internal explanations contend that "genius" leaders like Shaka, competition for resources because of population growth, and the decline in agricultural and grazing resources precipitated through ecologically unsound subsistence and pastoral strategies resulted in centralization and expansion of individual chiefdoms (Wright and Hamilton 1989:59 and 61). A more persuasive hypothesis than the aforementioned internal explanations, however, is that of external factors like the ivory trade at Delagoa Bay, (circa mid-sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries) between individual chiefdoms and Portuguese merchants, in particular, as the initial impetus for socio-political change within chiefdoms (Wright and Hamilton 1989:61). In short, "the penetration of external trade, once begun,... set in motion a self-reinforcing process of political centralization and social stratification" (Ibid:63). The self-reinforcing process was set in motion when individual chiefs mobilized the young men (amabutho) at their disposal, initially organized in age-sets to facilitate the transition from youth to manhood, to hunt for ivory to meet the demand of traders at Delagoa Bay. In those tribes in which the transformation in the function of the amabutho was successfully implemented and maintained, wealth, manifested in imported goods (beads etc.) increased. This accumulated wealth enabled individual chiefs to enlarge their circle of dependents and clients. The Mabhudu, Ndwande, and Mthethwa (Stuart and Malcolm 1986:8-9) chiefdoms were the most successful at centralization and expansion (Figure 11). This was possibly attributable to their relative geographical location (proximity to the bay) and the presence of sufficient number of elephant. In addition to these three dominant

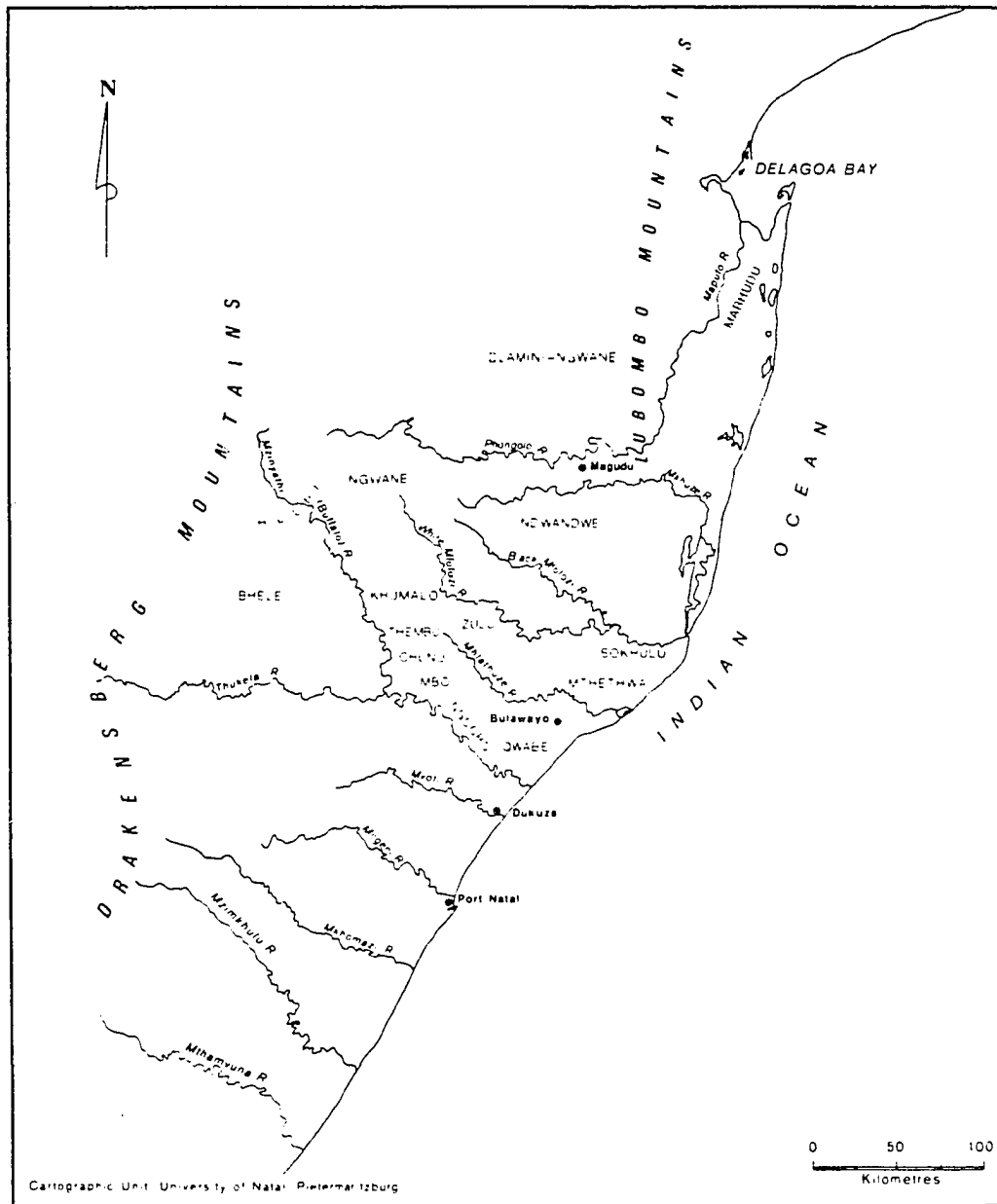


Figure 11 The Phongolo-Thukela Region Before the Formation of the Zulu Kingdom
Source: Wright and Hamilton 1989

chiefdoms, there were at least ten other less powerful chiefdoms, including the Zulu between the upper reaches of the White Mfolozi and Mhlathuze rivers, respectively (Figure 11).

Rise of the Zulu

Following Mthethwa defeat by the Ndwandwe in 1816, the latter were poised to dominate the Thukela-Phongolo region. With aid from the Mthethwa chief Dingiswayo, Shaka had become head of the Zulu chiefdom in 1816 following the death of his father Senzangakhona. Between 1818 and 1819 the Ndwandwe attacked the Zulu three times; the Zulu were victorious after the third attempt. Through the use of the short stabbing spear in combat coupled with incorporation through defeat and assimilation of individual chiefs and their subjects during the following decade, Shaka founded, nurtured, and brought the Zulu Kingdom to maturity. To maintain the allegiance of ever increasing Zulu subjects, Shaka expanded the territorial extent of the kingdom accumulating more subjects, livestock, and water, pasture and arable resources. Expansion north across the Black Mfolozi river enabled the Zulu to incorporate previous Ndwandwe subjects. In the extreme northeast the Zulu incorporated members of the once powerful Mabhudu chiefdom. Furthermore, control of this territory enabled the Zulu to extract tribute and control trade routes in the Delagoa Bay hinterland. During the early phase of Zulu expansionism tribes like the Bhele, Thembu, and Chunu fled south of the Tugela river into what was later to become the Republic of Natalia (1839-1843) and the colony of Natal (1843-1879). Communal life of indigenous Natal natives (ie. non-Zulu) was obliterated save for some chiefdoms in the lower Tugela valley and coastal regions that

by the 1820's had become clients of the Zulu state. By the mid-1820's the Zulu army was raiding for cattle as far south as the Mzimkulu river area which was inhabited by the Mpondo (Wright and Hamilton 1989:71). By the late 1820's King Shaka had a nation of more than 100,000 subjects who inhabited an area of approximately 80,000 square miles bounded by the Phongolo river in the north and the Mzimkulu in the south (Gluckman 1940:26) (Figure 11). Within this area, only the Qwabe and Khumalo polities offered strong resistance to Zulu expansion (Wright and Hamilton 1989:67). A three-tiered hierarchical Zulu society was discernable, dominated by the King and the aristocracy at the center; other full subjects, who had certain rights and obligations (labor) at the second level; and menials (*amalala*), destitutes (*amanhlwenga*), and those with a strange hairstyle (*iziyendane*) at the lowest level and on the periphery of the Zulu Kingdom. By the 1820's this hierarchical Zulu society was firmly in place; "in the space of a little over a half a century the native society in the Phongolo-Mzimkulu region had been radically transformed" (Wright and Hamilton 1989:74).

The transition in northern Nguni polities from numerous individual chiefdoms (circa 1775) to the Zulu Kingdom (firmly established by 1828) had a marked impact on the settlement geography of these semi-nomadic pastoralists. This was most acutely manifested in the concentration of thousands of young warriors resident at the Royal Zulu kraal. This concentration of the entire Zulu army surrounding the king is unique among Nguni societies in southern Africa (Gluckman 1940:32). Throughout the period under study four Zulu kings reigned and each, except for Cetshwayo, positioned his royal kraal at a different location. Shaka (1818-1828) had two royal kraals, one named

Bulawayo and a second Dukuza, after 1826; Dingaan (1828-1840) was resident at Mgungundlovu on the White Mfolozi; while Mpande (1840-1872) and Cetshwayo both located at Ulundi (Figure 12). King Shaka was assassinated by some of his followers including his half-brother Dingaan in September 1828. Shaka's royal kraal, located at the site of present-day Eshowe, was named Bulawayo (Figure 12) (Stuart and Malcolm 1986:30, 88, 131-132, 187). In addition to Shaka's Bulawayo residence it appears that he also spent time at Dibinhlangu, a kraal close to Bulawayo (Ibid:131 and 142). Henry Francis Fynn, who lived and travelled throughout Natal and Zululand between 1824 and 1834, estimates that Shaka had amassed a following of some 50,000 following the early Mfecane raids and concomitant plunder and assimilation (Ibid 19). Upon his later visit (probably in the late 1820's) to Bulawayo, they were greeted by 80, 000 Zulu including 12,000 warriors (Ibid 71). Fynn's Zulu population estimates are lower than Bryant's estimate of 100,000 (circa 1828) souls who inhabited an area of 80 000 square miles and social anthropologist Max Gluckman's who asserts that Bryant's figure is too conservative (Gluckman 1940:26). In addition to this Zulu population (from 80,000 to well over 100,000 strong by 1828) who inhabited an area that straddled the Tugela, extending as far south as the Mzimkulu river, there were numerous other indigenous native tribes living south of the Tugela river. In 1812, prior to the devastation wrought by the Mfecane, there were 94 different tribes in Natal (Fynn Map 2 and Natal Native Commission 1881-82:32 and 37-38). As mentioned before, many of these tribes were conquered and incorporated into the Zulu Kingdom during Shaka's reign. This was facilitated by Shaka who moved his Royal kraal from Bulawayo (in Zululand) to Dukuza

(present-day Stanger in Natal) in 1826²⁶. Through this act the Zulu amabutho colonized the territory of other tribes between the Tugela and Mkhomazi rivers (Fynn 137-138; Wright and Hamilton 1989:71-72). To be sure by 1837, during the latter years of King Dingaan's reign (1828-1840), two-thirds of these tribes were still extant (Natal Native Commission Report 1881-82:32 and 39).

Native Population Estimates in Zululand and Natal

Zululand

In both official and unofficial (ie. travellers, colonists, settlers, and missionary) sources that spanned the reign of Dingaan, Mpande (1840 to 1872), and Cetshwayo (1872 to 1879) Zulu population estimates for the geographical area north of the Tugela are scanty (or simply omitted) because the Zulu refugee "problem" captured the attention of Boer, Briton, and Imperial Officials after Natal became a British colony in 1844. Cetshwayo's rule actually ended in 1884. But since the end-date of this study is 1879, the year in which the British defeated the Zulu and ushered in the Kingdoms fragmentation and demise through dividing it into 13 territories each under an appointed chief, I designate Cetshwayo's rule as ending in this year (Laband and Thompson 1989:202-204). Colenbrander (1989:95) asserts that Mpande's followers numbered

²⁶ Some fifty yards from Dukuza Shaka built himself a small kraal he called Ugly Ear (Nyakomubi) where it appears he received messengers from other tribes (Stuart and Malcolm 1986:156). Nyakomubi may possibly have been the site to which Shaka retreated in anticipation of an impending visit from messengers (both his own and those from other tribes) when ominous news was expected. The kraal would then symbolize the Ugly Ear, literally the physical structure in which the ominous news was both recited and received. His Dibinhlangu kraal close to Bulawayo may have served a similar purpose.

approximately 17,000 (ie. less than half the Zulu nation) when he fled Dingaan's wrath to settle south of the Tugela in 1838. Hence, Dingaan's subjects had dwindled to less than approximately 20, 000 two years before his death in 1840. Therefore in Zululand in 1838 the combined Zulu population of less than 40,000 paying allegiance to Dingaan and Mpande, respectively, squares with the steady accretion over time in the number of natives resident in Natal²⁷.

Natal

Table 4 is a summation of the estimated Native population resident in Natal from 1834 until 1881. Henry Cloete estimated that in 1834 there were about 6,000 refugees at Port Natal (Duminy and Guest 1989:234). Six years later it was estimated that there were between 20,000 and 30,000 natives in Natal (Native Commission Report 1852-53:8). The 1852-53 Native Commission claimed that prior to British annexation of Natal in 1843 there were only between 13,000 and 14,000 aboriginal natives in Natal. This number was contested by the Reverend Louis Grout who put the number at between 75,000 and 83,000 souls (Native Commission Report 1852-53:31). The original commission (1846) appointed for locating the natives claimed that there were about 100, 000 Africans resident in Natal at this date (Etherington 1989a:171; Native Commission Report 1852-53:20). Theophilus Shepstone claimed that in 1848 the total Natal African population, both aboriginal and refugee, was divided into 65 separate

²⁷ After this date the Zulu population resident in Zululand increased quite rapidly. Gluckman estimates a population of between 250,000 to 500,000 in 1870 (Gluckman 1940:36). In 1899, nearly 30 years later, a Native Commission report reported that there were 210,053 natives in Zululand (Cited in Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:12).

Table 4

Summation of Natal Native Population 1834 to 1881

YEAR	ESTIMATED POPULATION	# OF TRIBES
1812	n.d.	94
1834	6000 at Port Natal	n.d.
1837	n.d.	65
1838	2 500	n.d.
1838	11 000	n.d.
1838	10 000 – 13 000	n.d.
1840	20 000 – 30 000	n.d.
1840	20 000 – 30 000	n.d.
1842	13 000 – 14 000	n.d.
1842	75 000 – 83 000	n.d.
1842	4 000 at Port Natal	n.d.
1843	40 000 – 50 000 (13000 – 14000 aboriginal)	n.d.
1843	44 415	n.d.
1846	100 000	n.d.
1846	80 000 – 100 000	n.d.
1847	100 000 (60 000 – 70 000 had no chiefs)	n.d.
1848	80 000 – 100 000 (60 000 – 70 000 had no chiefs)	n.d.
1848	80 000 – 100 000	65
1848	75 000 – 100 000 (13 000 – 14 000 aboriginal)	n.d.
1852	100 000	n.d.
1853	150 000	n.d.
1862	180 000	n.d.
1866	Upwards of 200 000	n.d.
1868	209 950	n.d.
1869	250 000	n.d.
1873	225 000	n.d.
1876	400 000 (too Liberal)	n.d.
1876	350 000	n.d.
1878	290 000	n.d.
1881	375 000	n.d.
	Resident on Location & Mission Land 169,800	
	Resident on Private Land 162,500	
	Resident on Crown Land 42,600	

(table con'd.)

Table 4

YEAR	ESTIMATED BY	SOURCE
1812	H.F. Fynn	The Diary of H.F. Fynn; N.N.C. 1881-82:32
1834	?	Cited in Duminy & Guest 1989:373
1837	?	N.N.C. 1881-82:32
1838	A.F. Garniner	Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolah Country
1838	Select Committee of L.C.	N.G.G Volume 14 (720) Aug. 19, 1862:411
1838	Henry Cloete	E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:77 & 320
1840	Native Commission 1852-53	N.C.R. 1852-53:8
1840	Select Committee of L.C.	N.G.G. Volume 14 (720) Aug.19, 1862:411
1842	Native commission 1852-53	N.C.R. 1852-53:31
1842	Rev. Aldin Grout	N.C.R. 1852-53:33
1842	H.F. Fynn	The Diary of H.F. Fynn:22
1843	Select Committee of L.C.	N.G.G. Volume 14 (720) Aug.19, 1862:711
1843	Rev. Josiah Tyler	Forty Years among the Zulus: 183-184
1846	Theophilus Shepstone	E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:327
1846	Native Commission 1846	Cited in W.C. Holden 1855:196;
1847	Native Commission 1852-53	N.C.R. 1852-53:20
1848	Henry Cloete	E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:78 & 321
1848	Select Committee of L.C.	N.G.G. Volume 14 (720) Aug 19, 1862:411
1848	Native Commission 1881-82	N.N.C. 1881-82:32
1852	Rev. William Holden	History of the Colony of Natal 1855:177
1853	Select Committee of L.C	N.G.G. Volume 14 (720 Aug.19, 1862:411
1862	Select Committee of L.C	N.G.G. Volume 14 (720 Aug.19, 1862:411
1866	Natal Landowners	S.B. 1866 Number 16:5
1868	Theophilus Shepstone	N.G.G. Volume 21 (1187) Aug.10, 1869:325
1869	Lt. Gov. Robert Keate	N.G.G. Volume 21 (1187) July 12, 1870:233
1873	David Leslie	Among the Zulu's and Amatongas: 2
1876	Lt. Gov. H. Bulwer	N.G.G. Volume 27 (1609) Sept. 1876:506
1876	Thomas Phipson	Letters & other writings of a Natal sheriff Thomas Phipson 1815-1876:199 & 202
1878	?	Cited in Duminy & Guest 1989:194
1881	Native Commission 1881-82	N.C.R. 1881 - 82:33

chiefdoms (Lambert 1989:374). In 1852-53 it was estimated that, "about one-half of the Zulu nation, as it existed under Chaka [sic] and Dingaan, now live within this district" [Natal] (Native Commission Report 1852-53:33). By 1882 the total native population in Natal did not exceed 375,000 (Natal Native Commission 1881-82:33). Of this total, the majority, 169, 800 were resident on Location and Mission Land; 162,600 provided labor to pastoralists and agriculturalists on private farm lands; and a total of 42,600 Natives squatted on unalienated Crown Lands (Ibid:35). The estimates of three unofficial sources put the native population at 225,000 (Leslie 1969: 2); 350,000 (Currey 1968:199 and 202); and 456,000 (Tyler 1891:183-184) circa 1873, 1876, and 1889 respectively.

The rapid increase in the Natal Native population from between 2,000 to 3,000 in 1838 (Records of the Natal Executive Council 1846:81), to approximately 100,000 in the early 1840's (Ibid:81), and to probably just shy of 375,000 in 1881 points to the fact that the Zulu population, that was attached to the despotic Zulu Kingdom at Ulundi, was decreasing as dissatisfied Zulu subjects fled to Natal. British colonial officials often wished that these numerous Natives could be expelled from the colony. However, by accepting them as subjects of Her Majesty's government, Natives had to be accommodated, albeit as second-class subjects, within the Natalian settlement system (see chapter 7).

Conclusion

I started this chapter by defining the settlement system as a manifestation of culture, that is, a way of living that carries messages about existence as well as ones of a more

instrumental nature. The frontier was then presented as a zone of interaction between different ethno-cultural societies. On the South African frontier, this interaction has been dominated by competition for land between intrusive and indigenous societies, between different indigenous societies, and between diverse intrusive societies. The identification of multiple frontiers, at different times and different places, stands in contrast to Turner's assertion of a single frontier characterized by a boundary line between savagery and civilization. Furthermore, I noted that North American and South African geographers have tended to interpret the frontier in exclusively economic or ethno-cultural terms. I concluded this chapter with a discussion of the origin, demographics, and general location of indigenous South Africans in the settlement process. In the next chapter I discuss divergent British and Dutch-Afrikaner land disposal and settlement policy in the Cape Colony and Natal. Their policies are manifest in the cadastre, the spatial framework for settlement processes and creation of place through lived in and experienced space.

CHAPTER 3

THE CADASTRE: A MANIFESTATION OF LAND DISPOSAL AND SETTLEMENT POLICY

Survey systems, settlement forms, and society are intimately related (Meinig 1986)

Old Versus New World Ideas

In the early years of European settlement in the New World in the seventeenth century, whether in the Liesbeeck River valley east of Cape Town in Southern Africa, or on the Atlantic seaboard of North America, land surveying and the production of cadastral maps became established as a concomitant of colonial settlement (Kain 1991).

Formally documented landownership rights were unknown to many indigenous societies in both the Old and New Worlds. Natives were exposed to this somewhat alien practice only when Dutch, French, Anglo, Spanish, and other European settlers wished to enter into private land treaties with them. Thus European emigrants hauled with them several cultural practices, including land demarcation methods and systems¹. In both Southern Africa and North America land was coveted by European settlers who migrated to Africa south of the Sahara and the New World respectively. To be sure, the Bantu, Khoikhoi, and Indians were quickly dispossessed of their ancestral lands through systematic European land demarcation methods and systems.

¹ R. Kain, 1991 *World Cadastral Systems* provides a detailed review of cadastral systems associated with European colonial settlement in both the Old and New Worlds. Kain places particular emphasis on the variety of North American cadastres associated with northwestern European settlement, including the French and English systems in Canada and the United States respectively. Attention is given not only to the resulting geometric shape of land grants as manifest on the landscape but also to the administrative and legal systems that put in place what is physically visible on the surface of the earth. A case in point is the so-called Torrens System of land registration which was adopted by each of the Australian colonies, New Zealand and the Cape Colony in South Africa from about 1857-1874. A few brief comments concerning cadastral systems in India are made.

In general, the land surveying systems that were implanted in Southern Africa, North America, and other colonial territories approximately two and a half centuries ago, are often evident today, juxtaposed among the human-made structures in both rural and urban settings. The imprint of these systems on the landscape is everlasting, or nearly so. This fact is exemplified through the methods of land demarcation in the original thirteen American colonies as well as along the Saint Lawrence River in New France². Thus, we can only marvel at the plethora of patterns that appear aesthetically attractive on either a map or as "we rise into the air and see the earth's surface spread out below us" (Kniffen 1960).

The cadastre, however, is not simply a system of land demarcation. Instead, the method of both granting land as well as the physical running of surveys on the surface of the earth is dictated by a controlling body, the government. The French experience of granting land along navigable waterways in New France provided a "passive" model for government involvement. Concessions were made directly by the King to seigneuries. In turn land-grants were made by the seigneuries to their numerous censitaires. Thus ideally the seigneur could be regarded as intercessor between the Crown and French residents in New France. The role played by the seigneur in promoting this feudal system of settlement was rather insignificant. R. Cole Harris argues that such a system contributed to the failure of successfully planting a colony.

² S.B. Hilliard, 1987. A Robust New Nation, 1783-1820, in *North America: The Historical Geography of a Changing Continent*, edited by R.D. Mitchell and P.A. Groves; S.B. Hilliard, Headright Grants and Surveying in Northeastern Georgia, *The Geographical Review* 72(4)1982; and R.C. Harris, 1968. *The Seigneurial System in Early Canada, A Geographical Study*.

Uncoordinated and inefficient implementation of orders by officials in Acadia and Quebec and the temptation to participate in the fur trade caused censitaires to neglect agricultural enterprises on the rotures³. The rather insignificant influence that the French Crown exercised in guiding and dictating the development of royal land stands in stark contrast to the "active" role played by the government in the United States under the township and range land system. The implementation of such an orderly land system was, however, not instantaneous and free of vicissitudes⁴. The Ordinance of 1784 emerges as one of the main facilitators in the successful implementation of the township and range system. This Ordinance made provision for the orderly division and disposal of the public domain prior to settlement (Johnson 1976). However, the concept of this rational geometric system proved more successful than its physical implementation. To be sure, the first federal lands surveyed under this system commenced in 1785 (in the Seven Ranges, Ohio) and were completed in piecemeal fashion over several decades. Furthermore, the entire state was not surveyed from a common base line and

³ Harris, op. cit. Seigneurs were landowners in the true sense of the word since they owned the seigneuries, but they were required to sub-divide their concessions by renting land to incoming French settlers. In contrast, the censitaires rented pieces of land within the seigneur, called rotures, from the socially "affluent" seigneurs. In France, censitaires were considered low-income farmers, in fact, this word was synonymous with peasant.

⁴ The orderly American rectangular system of surveying and disposing of land, has been more than adequately studied by historians and geographers. W.D. Pattison's monograph entitled, *Beginning of the American Rectangular Land Survey System, 1784-1800*, 1957, is only one of many that deals with the history and implementation of this system in the United States. See also C.A. White's work titled, *A History of the Rectangular Survey System*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1983, as well as Hildegard Binder Johnson's, *Order Upon the Land The U.S. Rectangular Land Survey and the Upper Mississippi Country*, 1976.

principal meridian. Instead, the state was surveyed in nearly 20 different districts. Each of these districts differed in terms of township numbering and the subdivision of sections (Hilliard 1987). Norman Thrower's, *Original Survey and Land Subdivision: A Comparative Study of the Form and Effect of Contrasting Cadastral Surveys* (1967) is an analysis of two of these districts. The first was the Virginia Military District which was surveyed under the metes and bounds system. The second was the district South and East of the First Principal Meridian (North of the Greenville Treaty Line) where the township and range system was implemented. Nevertheless, standardization and accuracy of the rectangular survey system improved as it was implemented in the other states west of Ohio.

In nineteenth-century South Africa, the British Imperial government initially played an "active" role, analogous to that of the United States Federal Government, in the land disposal and settlement process in the Cape Colony and Natal. British colonial policy stands in stark contrast to the laissez-faire involvement of the Dutch East India Company (1703-1795) and Voortrekker Volksraad (governing body) (1839-1843) on the eighteenth century Cape frontier and in nineteenth century Natal, respectively. A discussion of these two divergent land systems follows.

Land Disposal and Settlement Policy in Colonial South Africa

The cadastral system, visible in the landscape, is a reflection of the land disposal and settlement policy of a particular ethno-cultural society. In some instances, divergent land policies espoused by different societies inhabiting the same political territory leads to tension, strained relations, and often culminates in open conflict. The divergent

Dutch-Afrikaner and British land policies in the Cape colony and Natal during the nineteenth century are cases in point.

The Cape Colony

In the interior regions of the Cape Colony, Dutch-Afrikaner semi-nomadic pastoralists grazed their cattle and sheep on 3,000 morgen (6,000 acres) landholdings under a loan place (Leeningsplaatzen) form of land tenure⁵. This land system was officially sanctioned by Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel in 1703. In practice, however, it had already been in existence before the turn of the eighteenth century because vrijburghers who could not afford to purchase land in the southwestern Cape moved onto the Cape frontier where land was both abundant and cheap. Land in the frontier districts was more often than not free for the taking because of the great distance that separated the Dutch East India Company administrators at the Cape from grazers on the frontier. Hence, company officials were unable to effectively ensure that trekboers renewed their leases each year. Conflict between the Dutch East India Company and British frontier land policy occurred for the first time during the second British occupation of the Cape during the reign of Governors' DuPre Alexander, second Earl of Caledon (1807-1811) and Sir John Francis Cradock (1811-1814). Cradock, in particular, was opposed to the Dutch-Afrikaner loan-place system, and his criticism of

⁵ In *British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795-1844: A Study of Administrative Procedures in the Empire*, Duly defines loan place tenure as: "a farm or grazing station of approximately 3,000 morgen, held under a one-year lease, which was automatically renewed. Used by the Dutch as their chief tenure at the Cape, the loan-place tenure became so encrusted with custom that it became a secure and permanent tenure for the lessee" (1968:xiv).

and demands for the abolition of loan-place tenure during the period 1811-1814 came to fruition with the implementation of the Cradock Land system in 1813 (Duly 1968:44).

The objective of the Cradock land system, which was in operation from 1813 until 1828, was threefold: (1) to convert all loan places to perpetual quitrent, (2) to increase the colonial government's revenue through charging quitrents which were determined by the quality and location of the farms, and (3) to provide an orderly system of land alienation for making new grants (Ibid:67). Cradock looked upon the pastoralist with disdain. He believed that grazing was for the lazy. Cradock in 1812, for example, asserted that, "to encourage grazing and an indolent easy life in the Individual is not the public object of His Excellency, but progressive Civilization, agricultural improvement and common defence (Ibid:47-48). Although no uniform Imperial land policy was promulgated and forced upon all British possessions by Downing Street in the period 1828 to 1840, the Colonial Office was at liberty to intervene and change local land policy in any of the colonies. The Secretary for the Colonies modified the Cape colony's land policy on three occasions, in 1819, 1820, and 1831, before an explicit imperial land policy was finally communicated to the Cape Governor and implemented in the Cape Colony and Natal in 1844. Secretary for the Colonies Bathurst's 1820 intervention in Cape land policy demonstrates two perennial problems pertaining to Cape colony land policy that were to recur in Natal after 1844.

In the first place, the 6,000 miles separating the Secretary for the Colonies' office in London and the governor's office at Cape Town posed problems in the timely

implementation of land and settlement policy in accordance with "His Majesty's desires" because correspondence was slow and follow-up on the Secretary for the Colonies' part was erratic. Hence, the Governor and other colonial officials were often left in the lurch and forced to frame policy on the spot, pending London's sanction or disapproval. To further complicate matters, when Cape colonial officials eventually did receive decrees, they were often written so imprecisely that the local colonial officials' interpretation of orders pertaining to land and settlement policy were at variance with what the Secretary for the Colonies had intended.

In the second place, Bathurst's 1820 correspondence reflects the Cape colonial government's recurrent dilemma in trying to break with the Cape-Dutch land system. Bathurst wrote acting Cape governor Donkin on May 20th, 1820: "In any future grants of land to be made in the District of Uitenhage, or any other settlements either to the northward of that district or more immediately on the frontiers of Cafferland, it should be made a special condition of the grants, that the lands should be cultivated by free laborers alone" (Ibid 1968:89) (See Figure 13). Nowhere in this correspondence did Bathurst specify which geographical localities or districts he deemed to comprise "the frontiers of Cafferland". Donkin, however, understood Bathurst's order to refer only to the District of Albany, hence he did not inform any other "frontier" landdrosts to implement the decree. Clearly, the aforementioned confusion was attributable to Bathurst and Donkin's differing perceptions of what constituted the "frontier". Confusion over the implementation of Bathurst's 1820 decree came to a head in August 1825 when governor Somerset made it known that he intended to grant 1,000 morgen

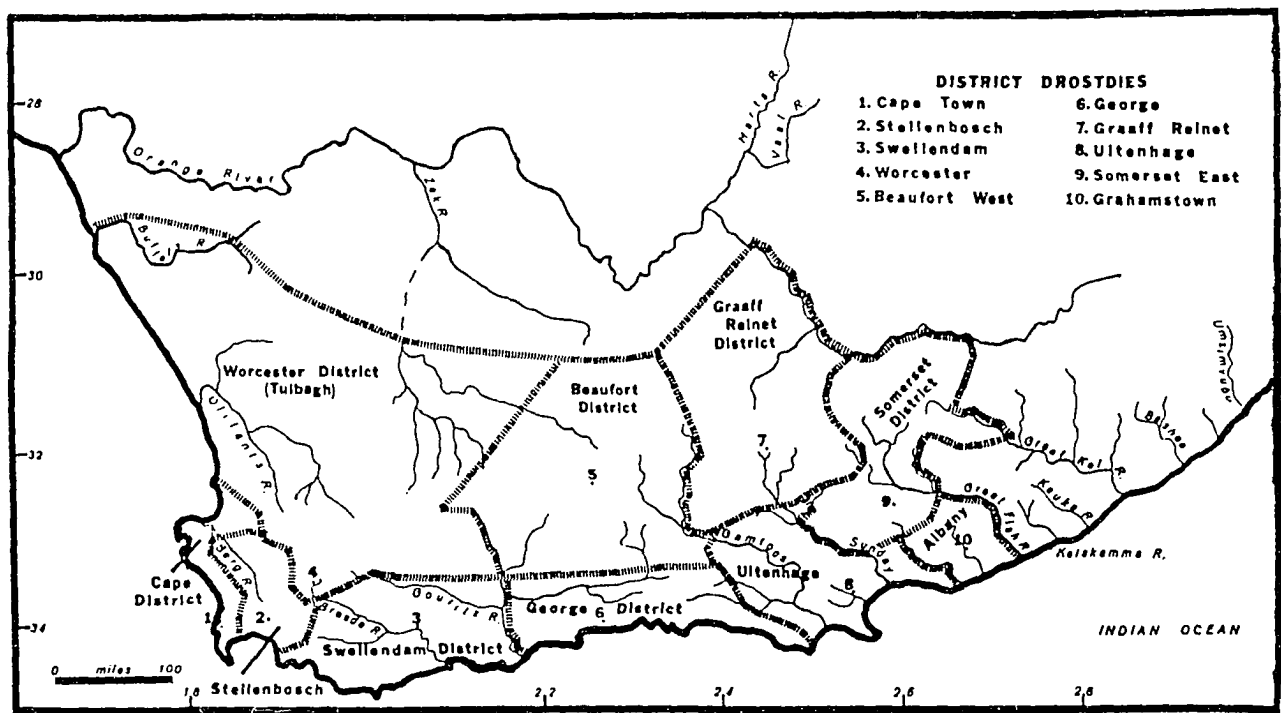


Figure 13 District Divisions of the Cape Colony, 1826
Source: Duly 1968

(approximately 2,000 acres) farms to Boers on the frontier. Somerset's decision to grant Boers large farms (he did in fact make some grants) is indicative of the tendency for British colonial officials to revert to the Cape-Dutch land system when security became a priority on the eastern frontier. Somerset's action was not unprecedented. During the first British occupation of the Cape, governor George, Earl of Macartney, suspended land rents on farms threatened by the Bantu on condition that the Boers would occupy them. Furthermore, he offered rent-free farms to those pastoralists who would move into the frontier zone (Ibid 1968:27). The recommendation of a Commission (1823-1826), reporting on the feasibility of the Cradock Land System, that grazing runs should not be limited to 3,000 morgen is a second example showing that colonial officials were not yet weaned of the Cape-Dutch land system principle of granting extensive landholdings. Finally, in 1839, after approximately twenty-five years of British occupation at the Cape, the Cape Land Department scrapped Cradock's regulation that loan-place holders could only obtain additional land if their loan place had been converted to quitrent (Ibid 1968:130). These three examples illustrate that, while the Secretary for the Colonies and a few local Cape colonial officials were vehemently opposed to the Cape-Dutch land system and the dispersed settlement system it produced, they were prepared to sanction and even encourage trekboers to live the individualistic semi-nomadic lifestyle on extensive landholdings when it was advantageous to the British administration.

We now return to the confusion surrounding Bathurst's 1820 correspondence. Bathurst learned from one of the three reports by the aforementioned 1825 Commission

reporting on the status of the slave prohibition clause that the Boers had received large grants of land adjacent to the small tracts of the English settlers (see chapter 2). Furthermore, he was informed that the trekboers had been placed in close proximity to the Xhosa and that they might be tempted to enslave them (Ibid:90). Bathurst instructed acting lieutenant-governor Major General Bourke to suspend issuing of all new titles in the five "frontier districts". Bourke understood frontier districts to include: Albany, Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, Beaufort, and Worcester. Later Bathurst consented to Bourke's suggestion that the suspension on issuing of new land titles be limited to a 30-mile wide belt extending into the colony from the border. It was, however, impossible to determine where this zone lay because the "...border [Cape Colony's] was more a line on a map than a geographical reality" (Duly 1968:93). While officials in the Downing Street colonial office procrastinated, Cape land-board officials had to overlook any application for land that they felt might lie within the 30-mile zone. The inability of the British colonial government to contain and control trekboer settlement expansion is reflected in Bourke's words written in 1828: "in the Frontier Districts the Cattle Farmers [Dutch-Afrikaner] have been induced to wander across the Border in quest of food or water for their increasing stock, and the attention of Government is in vain directed to the object of keeping them within bounds" (Duly 1968:94).

Natal

Natal's colonial settlement system, like that of the Cape Colony, reflects the divergent land disposal policies of the Dutch-Afrikaner and British colonial administrations. The land disposal policy of the Voortrekker Volksraad in Natal from

1841 was an extension of the Cape-Dutch land system⁶. This system was adapted to the needs of pastoralists who allowed their livestock to graze extensively on the open-range. Under this land system individuals subscribed to the adage that possession was nine-tenths of the law and that land survey and registration did not have to precede the occupation of a landholding by a pastoralist and his family. The Cape-Dutch land system was in operation in the Republic of Natalia from 1839 until 1843⁷. This land code resulted in a dispersed settlement pattern characterized by isolation of individual homesteads in a sea of open plains. The Volksraad's land disposal and settlement philosophy was at odds with British Imperial land policy which was implemented after the Voortrekker polity was annexed by the British in 1843 and became a British colony in 1844. The basic tenets of the Imperial system required: that survey precede settlement, the sale of small land parcels in freehold at a minimum upset price, and the production of cash crops, including sugar, indigo, and cotton, for markets in the European core. The objective of the Imperial land policy was to control British settlement expansion through compact, agricultural settlements. I now discuss the land

⁶ It should be noted that although the Volksraad only officially sanctioned the Cape-Dutch method of land disposal and settlement on April 14th, 1841 this method had already been adopted by Voortrekker families when they entered Natal in 1839.

⁷ Christopher has written at length about Voortrekker and British land and settlement policy in Natal. His relevant publications include: "The Initial European Farm Pattern in Natal" (1968); *Natal- A Study in Colonial Land Settlement* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation 1969a); "The British Settlement of Natal, 1848-1851: A Geographical Appraisal" (1969b); "The Closer-Settlement Movement in Natal 1875-1910" (1970); "Colonial Land Policy in Natal" (1971); "Land ownership in the development of Natal 1838-1910" (1977); "Official Land Disposal policies and European Settlement in southern Africa" (1983a); and "African Land: European Enterprise" (1985).

disposal policies of the Voortrekker Volksraad (1839-1842) and the British colonial government (1843-1879).

Volksraad Land Disposal and Settlement Policy in Natal

The Republic of Natalia was established in 1839. After much debate⁸ concerning how land would be disposed, the Volksraad set forth the formal procedure on the 14th of April 1841 in a law entitled, "Regulating the right of Burgership and the possession of lands in Freehold within the Republic of Natal." Generally three regulations governed which Voortrekkers could receive land and what quantity each claimant could receive. Those Trekkers who had arrived in Natal first (pioneers) were permitted the first choice of land. Second, burghers who were married or of age and had entered Natal before the end of December 1839 were entitled to two farms. Those arriving after 1839 were only allowed one farm because the Volksraad asserted that these Trekkers had neither done nor suffered as much as the pioneers. Thirdly, boys between 15 and 21 years of age were allowed one farm each (Christopher 1968).

Land in Natal, in contrast with parts of the Cape interior, particularly the Karroo, was both abundant and fertile. Consequently, the Volksraad regarded 3,000 morgen (6,000 acres) as a reasonable farm size. The appointed magistrates (landdrosts) were permitted to issue certificates of registration on unoccupied farms only after an

⁸ Members of the Natal Voortrekker Volksraad considered, discussed, and debated burgher landownership requirements, including the number of farms that burghers were entitled to when they received petitions. Meetings at which the Volksraad discussed these issues included: September 7, 1839 (clause 1); November 8, 1839 (clause 9 and 12); April 1, 1840 (clause 5 through 8); June 14, 1840 (clause 1); and August 13, 1840 (clause 1) (Notule Natalse Volksraad recorded in the South African Archival Record, hereafter, S.A.A.R).

inspection and report. Two inspectors defined the limits of the farm using natural features. Since there was no surveyor, the exact area of the farm was not calculated and recorded nor were the boundaries of the claimant's farm delimited with permanent markers. Consequently, farms often exceeded the minimum of 3,000 morgen. The inspectors submitted their reports to the Land Board which made a final inspection before issuing a grant in writing or on a printed form following the claimant's payment of one pound ten shillings. During the short life of this Voortrekker Republic (1839-1842), 1,780 farms were registered though only about 500 farms had been inspected, reported upon, and granted before October 1842 when British Commandant Smith at Port Natal prohibited further grants in the name of the Republic of Natalia (Christopher 1968). The British did not initially annex Natal for colonial economic exploitation. Rather the Victorian paternalistic ethos of the times moved the Imperial Government to extend British control over a Voortrekker sovereignty that was judged guilty of inhumane treatment of the indigenous "kaffirs". Enslavement and cruel treatment of the Natives in Natal fomented turmoil which the Secretary for the Colonies feared would spill over into independent Pondoland, separating Natal and the Cape Colony, and eventually incite the Xhosa to revolt in the eastern Cape Colony.

British Land Disposal and Settlement Policy in Colonial Natal

The year in which the British assumed hegemony over Natal was critical in shaping land policy and the resultant colonial settlement system, because during the early 1840's officials in the Downing Street office finally bought into the colonial reformers' settlement model for the British colonies. The first sign of Downing Street's interest

in planned emigration and settlement was the establishment of The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in 1840. This commission was responsible for the logistics of settler emigration and settlement from 1840 to 1878 (Hitchins 1931). The Imperial land system which was imposed on Natal in 1844 had been implemented in South Australia in 1837 and New Zealand in 1840 (Bloomfield 1961 and Christopher 1969:84). A brief discussion of the evolution and basic characteristics of the Imperial land system are in order before I discuss the problems associated with the imposition of this Imperial Land code on the Natal colonial administration in 1844.

Wakefield and the Colonial Reformers⁹

This Imperial colonial land system was pioneered by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the colonial reformers in the 1820's, against the backdrop of rapid British population growth and social upheaval. Malthus and other prophets of doom asserted that war, vice, and misery were imminent in restoring the balance between exponential population growth and geometric growth of food production. Wakefield believed that the problems associated with increasing population densities in Britain, generated by exponential growth, could be alleviated through encouraging people to emigrate and settle the sparsely populated British colonies including New Zealand, Australia, and Canada. He detested British parliamentarian's disinterest in the colonial possessions. Furthermore, he objected to a 1827 recommendation of the Select Committee on Emigration of continuing to export paupers and convicts to the colonies as had been done in New

⁹ The role of Wakefield and the colonial reformers in shaping colonial emigration and settlement is discussed by Bloomfield (1961) in *Edward Gibbon Wakefield Builder of the British Commonwealth*.

South Wales, Australia (Bloomfield 1961:88-92). What Wakefield envisioned was the founding of, "...new, more egalitarian- though not "classless"- Englands overseas, [as] homes for "healthy, happy human beings", and [a guarantee] of responsible government" (Ibid:342). The basic tenet of the Colonial Reformers' earlier plan, namely a balance between capital, labor, and land in the settlement of the colonies, was applied in the Imperial Land policy of 1844. In this plan the orderly disposal of land was the critical variable in the equation that would ensure the successful plantation of "New Englands" around the world. In short, the Imperial Land system dictated the sale of land in freehold at a "sufficient price" per acre¹⁰. Furthermore, the proceeds of these land sales would be used to convey British laborers free of charge to the colonies. Finally landholdings were to be surveyed prior to occupation by individual settlers (Ibid:99-103).

Imperial Land Policy in Natal: Implementation and Failure

When Natal was annexed in 1843 the Imperial Land policy became and remained, until 1893, the official code for land disposal and settlement. Initially after annexation, local colonial officials were confronted with a plethora of problems resulting from the many Voortrekker and indigenous Native land claims which had to be accommodated within the Imperial Land System. Here I am only concerned with the former since the impact of Native Locations on the Imperial Land System is discussed in Chapter 7. In

¹⁰ It should be noted that the price of land varied from one colony to the next. The price of land per acre in the various colonies was: 1 pound in the Australian colonies, 10 shillings in New Zealand, 6 shillings 7 pence in Upper Canada, 5 shillings in Ceylon, 4 shillings 11 pence in Lower Canada, and 2 shillings in the Cape and Natal (Christopher 1969:85).

May 1843, Henry Cloete¹¹, a Dutch-Afrikaner lawyer and colonial official in the Cape Colony, was appointed by Secretary for the Colonies' Stanley to investigate the land situation in Natal. Cloete was instructed "to inquire into and report upon the number of farmers [Voortrekker] and others [natives] holding land in the district of Natal, and of the extent of it, with a view to their receiving grants of it from the crown" (Holden 1963:191). Cloete discusses his appointment as Commissioner to Natal, his arrival there in June 1843, and his three meetings with the Natal Volksraad concerning the future government of Natal that culminated in the full 24-member Volksraad's acceptance¹² of British government in Natal on August 8, 1843 in the last of five

¹¹ *Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and their settlement in the District of Natal, until their formal submission to Her Majesty's authority, in the year 1843.*

¹² The British annexation of Natal was accepted by the Natal Volksraad on August 8, 1843; acceptance of British government in Natal was recorded in the following translated document:

Sir,- We, the undersigned, members and representatives of the Volksraad, having had in consideration the proclamation of His Excellency the Governor [Cape Colony], dated 12th May last [1842], do hereby declare to have agreed to the conditions set forth in the 6th article [Natal becoming a British colony and guaranteeing security of Dutch-Afrikaner inhabitants language and culture] of the said proclamation, and to, accept the same.

Signed by

J. Maritz, President; M.J. Potgieter; P.R. Otto; P.M. Zietsman; B. Poortman; M.J. Pretorius; J.A. Cilliers; G.R. van Rooyen; G.J. Naude; C.F. Rotman; L.J. Meyer; G.F. Potgieter; P.R. Nel; A.J. Spies; P.G. Human; J.A. Kriel; M.A van Aardt; G.C. Viljoen; Gert Snyman; H.J. van den Berg; A.Z. Visage; M. Prinsloo; C.A. Ruthman; N.J.S. Basson; and J. Bodenstein, Sec. of the Volksraad.

Addressed to the Hon'ble H. Cloete,
Her Majesty's Commissioner.

(Cloete 1856:163).

lectures delivered to the Natal Literary Society at Pietermaritzburg in 1851 (Cloete:1856:147-168). After facilitating peaceful British annexation of Natal, Cloete turned to the Natal land question. In his final report, Cloete recognized three categories of land claims. He reported that 198 claimants, recorded in Schedule A, satisfied Stanley's twelve-month continuous occupancy regulation. Cloete identified a further 173 claimants, recorded in Schedule B, that almost complied with Stanley's stipulation. Cloete suggested that the Colonial Office recognize these land claims in full whereas those in Schedule C should be reviewed by the authorities. Stanley recommended that each claimant in Schedule A and B be granted 3,000 and 2,000 acres, respectively, and that all future grants be limited to 2,000 acres (Christopher 1969:5). In so doing Stanley set the precedent of deviating from the Imperial Land System which specified granting small, compact landholdings.

However, the inability of the Natal colonial office to inspect, survey, and issue title deeds to these Dutch-Afrikaner landholders in good time led to the exodus of many landholders to the two Voortrekker Republics in the South African interior. The flight of Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists from Natal was of concern to Sir Harry Smith, governor of the Cape Colony, because Natal could ill afford to lose any more of its approximately 3,000 white settlers in a colony where the Natives numbered approximately 100,000 souls. Sir Harry Smith responded by issuing a proclamation on February 10th, 1848 that "all fair and reasonable claims" be sent to a newly constituted Land Commission (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:214). Smith's decision to grant individual trekboers extensive acreages, akin to the regulations of the Cape-Dutch land

system, parallels Somerset's action in the Cape Colony thirty years earlier. To placate the Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists, Smith increased all claims verified by the new Land Commission to 6,000 acres. Furthermore, any other settlers who were prepared to live in the colony for seven years were also granted 6,000 acre landholdings (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:242-243 and 244). In total, 585 claims covering an area of approximately 3,3 million acres were alienated under Stanley's 1843 and Smith's 1848 proclamations (Table 5; Figure 1 and 14).

Three counties, namely Klip River, Pietermaritzburg, and Weenen, dominated the Dutch-Afrikaner cadastral map. In terms of geographical distribution, 77.4 percent of the total acreage (3,3 million acres) and 73.9 percent of the total number of land grants (585) were concentrated in these three counties. Klip River county constitutes the largest area (984,000 acres) in Dutch-Afrikaner grants even though fewer individual grants (144) were made in the Klip River district than in Pietermaritzburg county (180 grants covering an area of 968,000 acres). Triangular-shaped Klip River county, bounded by the Tugela river on the south, the Drakensberg on the north, and the Mzinyathi (Buffalo) river to the east, was the scene of the Dutch-Afrikaner Klip River Insurrection of 1848 which prompted Smith's proclamation to increase farms to 6,000 acres in an attempt to stem white settler exodus. Consequently farms in Klip River county were larger than Smith's 6,000 acre stipulation. Klip River's geographical location, adjacent to the Drakensberg and Zululand, invited conflict between indigenous societies and Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists throughout the colonial period. The Drakensberg was home to the marauding San whose cattle raids frustrated white

Table 5**Number and Area of Dutch–Afrikaner Land Grants by County**

COUNTY	AREA (ACRES)	% OF AREA	NUMBER OF GRANTS	% LAND GRANTS
Klip River	984,000	29.65	144	24.62
Pietermaritzburg	968,000	29.17	180	30.77
Weenen	618,000	18.62	108	18.46
Umvoti	397,000	11.96	68	11.62
Victoria	204,000	6.15	45	7.69
Durban	122,000	3.68	35	5.98
Alexandra	26,000	0.78	5	0.85
TOTAL	3,319,000	100	585	100

Source: After Christopher 1969a

pastoralist's. Furthermore, the suitable year-round grazing that the sweetveld vegetation in Klip River county afforded livestock resulted in Zulu/Dutch-Afrikaner competition for pasture and water resources in the dry winter months when Zulu pastoralists crossed the Mzinyathi with their herds.

The Crown's acknowledgement of pre-existing, extensive Voortrekker farms and the granting to these pastoralists security of title doomed to failure the implementation of the Imperial Land regulations from 1849 onwards. The inequality between large Dutch-Afrikaner farms and meager 20-acre British settler farms, dictated by the Imperial Land policy, were only too obvious to Anglo settlers. These British emigrants had to not only pay their passage to Natal but also had to pay for their land (4 shillings per acre) and surveying expenses. By contrast, Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists received farms that were three hundred times larger than did British settlers, and at virtually no cost.

Christopher (1969:91-98) identifies some nine proprietors that directed emigration and settlement schemes based on the Imperial Land system from 1847-1851. Under the Imperial Waste Lands Act of 1842, proprietors could purchase large blocks of Crown Land on condition that they introduce settlers onto their land. Proprietors who took up the challenge in Natal between 1847 and 1851 included: (1) the Natal Cotton Company, (2) Jonas Bergtheil, (3) Joseph Byrne, (4) Henry Boast and William Lund, (5) John Lidgett, (6) Hackett and Milner, (7) the Protestant Emigration and Colonization Society, (8) the Duke of Buccleuch, and (9) Edmund Morewood. These proprietors purchased abandoned Dutch-Afrikaner farms and arranged for the immigration of settlers (via the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners) and the survey of land into small farms

ranging from 20- to 50-acres in size¹³. Colonization and settlement under the auspices of these proprietors was limited to Pietermaritzburg and Victoria counties only, however. Although these schemes, with the possible exception of the settlement at Richmond (in Pietermaritzburg county), failed to promote and advance agricultural settlement they did contribute substantially to the introduction of British settlers and hence an increase in the number of white settlers in Natal. Joseph Byrne, the most successful of all proprietors, brought approximately 5,000 white settlers to Natal between 1849 and 1851¹⁴.

The failure of these immigration and settlement schemes to expand the settled area of the colony led the Legislative Council, after representative government in 1856, to adopt the policy of quit-rent grants by a proclamation of April, 29th 1857. The Legislative Council's policy deviated from the Imperial Land policy in two respects: (1) farm sizes were drastically increased and now ranged from 300 to 3,000 acres and (2) quit-rent tenure replaced that of freehold. Table 6 is a summary of the Legislative Council's policies. For the first time in the colony's history, land policy took into consideration the geographical and environmental differences between coastal and interior counties. The Secretary for the Colonies was alarmed however, at how Crown Land was being squandered and revoked granting of large landholdings on quit-rent

¹³ These early immigration schemes to Natal are discussed by Hammond (1926) and Bagwandeen (1974) in *Settlement of the Byrne Immigrants in Natal, 1849-1852* (Chapter 3 and 6) and *European Immigration into Natal, 1862-1884* (Some early emigration Schemes in chapter 1) respectively.

¹⁴ John Clark (1972) *Natal Settler-Agent: The Career of John Moreland agent for the Byrne emigration-scheme of 1849-51*.

Table 6

Legislative Council Land Policy: 1857 Quit-Rent Regulations

<u>CLASS 1</u>
<p>Farms to be located further than 40 miles from the coast.</p> <p>COUNTIES:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Klip River Weenen Umvoti Pietermaritzburg (excluding ward 6 and the Upper Umkomanzi Division)</p> <p>TENURE:</p> <p>1. Farms not to exceed 3000 acres. Occupation. Perpetual quit-rent of one farthing per acre.</p>
<u>CLASS 11</u>
<p>Farms to be located within 40 Miles of the coast.</p> <p>COUNTIES:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Victoria Durban Lower Umkomanzi Division Upper Umkomanzi Division</p> <p>TENURE:</p> <p>1. Farms of 300 Acres. Occupation. Perpetual quit-rent of twopence halfpenny per acre.</p> <p>2. Farms of 600 acres. Occupation Perpetual quit-rent of onepenny farthing per acre.</p> <p>3. Farms not to exceed onepenny farthing per acre. Occupation. Perpetual quit-rent of three farthings per acre.</p>

Source: Compiled from Christopher 1969

tenure on July, 2nd 1858. This gave rise to the re-imposition of Imperial Land policy on the Natal Legislature from 1858 until 1868. The sale of small parcels of land in freehold at a minimum upset price of 4 shillings an acre proceeded slowly during the decade that ended in 1868 (Christopher 1969).

Thus, we discern two contrasting settlement models in operation during the first quarter century of British hegemony in Natal. The Dutch-Afrikaner settlement model, which was sanctioned by the British administration in 1843, 1848, and 1857, resulted in large pastoral land grants on quit-rent tenure. The Imperial British model of settlement resulted in the sale of small agricultural landholdings in freehold. This model was actively pursued in two periods before 1868, namely, 1847 to 1858 and 1858 to 1868. After 1868, until the end-date of this study (1879), there was compromise between Dutch-Afrikaner and British Imperial land disposal and settlement policy through credit facilities. Legislation associated with credit facilities empowered the Crown to repossess unoccupied alienated Crown land through Law 25 of 1869. This and other unalienated Crown land was then disposed of in the following manner. Settlers possessing 500 pounds sterling or those who were prepared to pay an annual 50 pound sterling annuity would be issued with a land order for 200 acres with an additional 400 acre reserve which that individual had the option to purchase. Settlers were granted title to the 200 acres after two years continuous occupation and could purchase the reserve land at 5 shillings per acre at any time during the five years after receiving their title deeds (S.D. 1868 No. 13:1-3)¹⁵. A total of 28,225 acres

¹⁵ General Report by Dr. Mann on emigration from the United Kingdom 1868:1-13.

comprising 138 grants were alienated under these credit facilities which were in operation until 1880 (Christopher 1969:121-123 and 1977:149). Although compromise was necessary to resolve divergent Cape-Dutch and British land tenure policies; members of the legislative council and Natal settlers were in agreement after 1868 that landholding size, whether for agricultural or pastoral purposes, should be larger than the Imperial Land policy dictated.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the divergent Dutch-Afrikaner and British land disposal and settlement policies on the Cape frontier, in general, and the Natal frontier, in particular. I differentiate between the laissez-faire "passive" Dutch-Afrikaner and "active" British-Imperial models of land disposal and settlement in nineteenth-century Natal. Although leasing land (after 1868) represented compromise between these two models, the Dutch-Afrikaner precedent of granting large landholdings, particularly in the interior counties, persisted in British colonial land and settlement policy. In chapter 4, I discuss institutions associated with trekboer culture with particular emphasis on the role of sweet-sourveld transhumance migration. This semi-nomadic pastoral strategy, practiced by Khoikhoi and Xhosa cattle herders in the Cape Colony, became part and parcel of trekboer culture. This strategy, probably borrowed from indigene cattle tenders, was implanted in Voortrekker Natal after 1838 and is manifest in the Volksraad's land provisions of granting Natal burghers two farms-- a dry season winter (sweetveld) and a wet season summer (sourveld) pastoral run. Furthermore, this strategy was adopted by Anglo settlers in the pastoral districts of Natal.

CHAPTER 4

CULTURE CONTACT AND ADAPTATION: CRYSTALLIZATION OF TREKBOER CULTURE

The wagon road was his home and the rain his king¹ (cited in van der Merwe 1937).

Introduction

In this chapter I demonstrate that the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Cape Colony settlement system was a syncretic compromise of European and South African adaptations. The creation of this settlement system, characterized by trekboers residing on extensive open-range cadastres punctuated by the forlorn administrative district dorpe of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet, was the D.E.I.C.'s response to de facto trekboer expansion beyond the Colony's boundaries in search of water and pasture resources. The settlement geography of the Cape Colony, in general, and that of trekboer expansion between 1703 and 1795, in particular, are discussed in part two and three of this chapter, respectively. The former focuses on the role of European institutions that facilitated trekboer settlement expansion, namely, Calvinism, the kermis (Fair), the opstal and leeningsplaatsen, morgen and erven, and the introduction of European ovine and bovine. The latter examines the physical geography of the Cape Colony as a prelude to a discussion of eighteenth-century trekboer migration routes and frontier expansion. Cape Dutch vernacular, velskoens (field shoes), biltong (equivalent of jerky), and the pastoral and drostdy-administrative complexes are identified as adaptations and/or borrowings from indigenous pastoral societies.

¹ Die wapad was sy woning en die reen sy koning.

In the last section of this chapter, I present a geographical regionalization of pastoral strategies and settlement systems in South Africa with particular emphasis on the eastern Cape Colony and Natal. A sweet-sour veld transhumance pastoral strategy was utilized by both Xhosa and trekboer pastoralists in the eastern Cape and was subsequently implanted in Natal by the Voortrekkers following the Great Trek which commenced in 1836. I begin this chapter with a discussion of pastoral strategies and settlement associated with communities that constitute the East African Cattle Area as a context for comprehending trekboer adaptations.

East African Cattle Area: Pastoral Strategies and Settlement

Pastoralists practice herding in grassland biomes which are transitional between forest and desert ecosystems. Within the grassland biome a distinction is made between temperate grasslands and tropical savanna (Moran 1982:213)². The dominant economic activity in tropical savanna settings in Africa is subsistence herding augmented with rudimentary sedentary agriculture; semi-nomadism, rather than true pastoral nomadism. Livestock are highly prized for both subsistence purposes and their role in male initiation and other societal ceremonies (cultural values). In East Africa meat is normally only consumed when livestock die, whereas milk and blood are consumed throughout the year, but with a distinct consumption ebb during the dry season when

² Examples of temperate grasslands include: the Argentinean pampas, the North American Prairies, and the Eurasian steppes (Moran 1982:216). Most of the African nations that comprise the "East African Cattle Area" and include the southern Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Mozambique, and parts of South Africa, are examples of savanna grasslands (Netting 1977:40). The former is generally characterized by commercial enterprises, in contrast to tropical savannas where subsistence activity is dominant.

livestock give less milk and are bled less frequently because of their poor condition (Deshler 1965:160-162). Notwithstanding the primacy of livestock products for subsistence purposes, pastoralists often rely more on grain products than on milk, meat, and blood for sustenance (Netting 1977:40 and Grigg 1977:113).

The major subsistence constraints confronting pastoralists are access to water and pastures. These constraints are especially acute at the end of the dry season when both water and pasture resources are thin and livestock are most susceptible to disease, malnutrition, and death after been parched by the long dry season (Moran 1982:222-223 and 228). One strategy used by semi-nomads is for segments of the population, usually the women, to practice seasonal sedentary agriculture during the wet season while men herd stock nearby.

A second strategy, pursued during the dry season, is that of seasonal nomadism, which is generally undertaken by the men. Seasonal nomadism may take the form of either vertical or horizontal transhumance. In many instances, sedentary agriculture and transhumance strategies are practiced simultaneously by dividing household labor forces or making use of herding specialists so as to maximize the success of subsistence among semi-nomadic societies. Semi-nomadic societies like the Zulu, Xhosa, and Nuer, therefore, have permanent dwellings where grains are sown, harvested, and consumed. True nomads by contrast have no permanent dwellings and do not practice agriculture (Grigg 1977:113).

In addition, there are a number of strategies associated with seasonal nomadism that all revolve around the pastoralists main resource, namely, cattle. These comprise: herd

size, lending and borrowing, female cattle, and resource partitioning. First, keeping large herds and the size of the herding family is important. Generally, "the more people, the greater the dispersion [of livestock], the more abundant the forage and water, and the larger the herd" (Moran 1982:223). Cultural anthropologists have reasoned that large herds act as a form of social security because the possession of many cattle extends an individual's network of mutual obligations and offers more insurance against losing a high proportion of the herd during the dry season or drought. Deshler asserts that the social-security thesis provides a partial explanation and he demonstrates that large herds help to solve problems of survival for the Dodos (Deshler 1965:154)³. Deshler suggests that concern with a famine hedge or famine insurance may also explain the keeping of large herds by other tribes in the "cattle area" who live in areas where climate is equally severe, livestock productivity is as low as the Dodo's, and other modes of subsistence provide few products (Deshler 1965:167).

A second risk-spreading strategy, related to the idea of social security and mutual obligation, is that of cattle lending and borrowing, especially when herds become too large to be managed efficiently. For example, among the Samburu in Kenya the headman will divide his very large herd among his wives and their families. The Gogo

³ In addition to maintaining large herds some pastoralists may choose to either specialize or diversify as a herding strategy. An example of the former are the camel herding Rendille of north Kenya who practice camel nomadism because of this animal's special physiological adaptations to arid conditions (ie. kidney mechanism concentrates urine and excrete dry feces). The Turkana in northern Kenya keep cattle, sheep, camel, goats, and donkey. Camels, goats and donkeys are able to graze and browse, especially during the dry season (browse), so that pressure on grazing resources are reduced (Moran 1982:230-231).

of Tanzania use a trusteeship strategy whereby the trustees may use the milk produced by the cows but the offspring produced must be given to the owner (Moran 1982:225-226). These strategies ensure that livestock are well maintained especially when resources are scarce. However, they are also a form of social control in that trustees are dependent on the wealthy, influential chiefs who have the power to recall their livestock at any time. In the case of the Zulu a chief is assured allegiance because the chances of subjects defecting to other, possibly despotic, chiefdoms are reduced (Gluckman 1947:45).

Keeping more female than male cattle is another livestock management strategy used by pastoralists. In some instances 50% to 60% of the herd is female. This assures sufficient milk production for subsistence purposes and the maintenance of constant herds sizes, especially following epidemics, because the reproductive rates of livestock are low in tropical savanna regions (Moran 1982:228). Furthermore, higher female to male herd ratios reflects the greater dietary emphasis on milk products rather than meat.

Resource partitioning is a final strategy that pastoralists use to control access to resources for their livestock. The symbiotic relationship between the Pathans (sedentary agriculturalists), Kohistanis (who practice agriculture and transhumant herding), and the Gujars (nomadic herders) of Swat, North Pakistan offers a classic example of resource partitioning and control of access to resources (Barth 1956:1079-1089), with the Kohistanis and Gujars using different pasture areas and their crops integrated with Pathans. The Ariaal Rendille of central Kenya provide another example of resource partitioning among pastoralists. They herd in a transitional region between the dry

lowland shrub vegetation occupied by other, camel-herding Rendille and the more humid highland and plateau zones inhabited by the cattle-herding Samburu. Through intermarriage (primarily with the Rendille), descent, and friendship with their neighbors, the Ariaal have managed to gain access to both territories. Therefore despite the limitations of their environment, the Ariaal thrive herding camels, cattle, and sizeable numbers of small stock (Moran 1982:231).

Raiding is a third subsistence strategy harnessed by pastoralists⁴. It serves to rebuild and redistribute livestock herds. Raiding often coupled with warfare was ubiquitous among Zulu refugee tribes who crossed the Tugela river, fleeing the despotic Zulu King in Zululand, and sought land for settlement and grazing purposes from the British colonial government in Natal.

Semi-nomadic pastoral societies' herding and subsistence strategies are manifest in seasonally different settlement patterns. Numerous examples of different herding and subsistence strategies are pursued by particular pastoralist societies in the tropical savanna biome. Here particular emphasis is placed on the strategies used by three semi-nomadic societies, namely, the Nuer of the southern Sudan, and the Karimojong and Dodos of Uganda. They provide examples of different seasonal settlement patterns associated with pastoral societies in the East African cattle area. Native and Dutch-Afrikaner cattle tenders in the Cape and Natal share pastoral strategies associated with

⁴ Vayda (1974) asserts that population pressure was not the sole reason for warfare among the Maring of Papua New Guinea and the Maori's of New Zealand. He indicates that gaining access to scarce food resources is another factor influencing warring in these two societies.

these pastoral societies. I place particular emphasis on the distinctive settlement patterns that result from their wet and dry season strategies. My objective is to note the type and variety of herding and subsistence strategies utilized by these East African semi-nomads as context for viewing Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu strategies and comprehending their concomitant settlement systems in the colony of Natal.

The Nuer provide a quintessential example of how the rhythm and nature of subsistence strategies and settlement patterns can be adaptive to the environment. The Nuer place greater emphasis on herding cattle because of the uncertainty of returns from sedentary sorghum cultivation produced from seasonal flooding of the Nile and its distributaries. Thus livestock serve as famine insurance (food on the hoof) as Deshler (1965:167) observed in the case of the Dodos of Uganda. The settlement pattern of the Nuer therefore oscillates between small, dispersed cattle camps where dairying, fishing, and agriculture are practiced on elevated sandy ridges during the wet season (winter) and large (several hundred people) temporary dispersed settlements at permanent water sources during the dry season (Netting 1977:43 and Moran 1982:225). Furthermore, the segmentary lineage system and the leopard-skin chief provide the political institutions whereby access to territory containing scarce water holes and grazing land is determined and disputes are settled (Haviland 1990:56).

In the case of the Karimojong of Uganda, seasonal nomadism is a means of coping with the unevenness and variability of precipitation. When, where, and how far livestock are moved is determined by the location of permanent water; nutritional grass; sticky, wet clay soils; tall grass areas with high risk of predators; and areas with tick-

borne East Coast fever. Concern with and risk of enemy raiders is also a factor. In a relatively arid environment with a pronounced dry season, a good deal of land is needed. Although a permanent Karimojong settlement of 250 people occupies less than one square mile for house sites and gardens, cattle may graze over 500 square miles in the course of two years (Netting 1977:46). Larger herding families moved livestock as far as fifty miles from permanent settlement whereas smaller herding families are able to pasture their livestock within a radius of 12 square miles (Moran 1982:223).

The Dodos (or Dodoth), one of the northern Karimajong tribes of Uganda, have a three-pronged subsistence strategy. They raise stock; practice tillage grain agriculture; and gather termites, wild onions, spinaches, fruits, and grasses (Deshler 1965:154 and 167). This strategy enables them to combat the problem of annual grain shortages during the 5-8 months during which agriculture is not possible. These subsistence strategies (circa 1960's) are carried out by 20,000 Dodos in a 3,000 square mile semi-arid area with approximately 75,000 cattle (Deshler 1965:154). The Dodos practice extensive agriculture that takes the form of shifting cultivation. The settlement unit is an extended family (consists of 25-30 people with 70-130 cattle), who cultivate between 20- and 40 acres. Where possible, the family uses two such tillage areas adjacent to their stockaded settlement and corral. The procedure is to cultivate the first area for 2-3 years, move to the second area for the same length of time, followed by a 15 mile distant trek where the pattern is resumed (Deshler 1965:158). During the wet season the cattle are kept in the home areas and human and cattle densities are high. However, after a few months the home area's pastures become depleted, consequently the herds

are dispersed to early dry season grazing grounds. As the dry season progresses water sources diminish resulting in the movement of cattle even further afield to scattered permanent water points. By the late dry season water resources are so low that cattle are only watered every two or even three days (Deshler 1965:160). The aforementioned strategies were also used by Zulu and Xhosa semi-nomadic pastoralists in the area under study which was part of the East African cattle area.

Settlement of the Cape Colony 1652 to 1780

Context

Jan van Riebeeck's granting to nine former Dutch East India Company servants land along the Liesbeeck river in 1657 paved the way for rapid European settlement expansion (Guelke 1974:66-67). Within a sixty-year period the vrijburgher population had risen to approximately 2,000 souls inhabiting nearly 10,000 square miles (Guelke 1976:29). By 1770, these ever-mobile stockfarmers (trekboers) had reached the eastern Cape frontier, a distance of 500 miles from Cape Town, where further eastward migration in search of new grazing land was checked by the westward movement of semi-nomadic Xhosa pastoralists (Figure 15). But what facilitated the peopling of such an extensive area in a little over a century? Neumark (1957) asserts that the open Cape frontier acted as an economic magnet. On the frontier, trekboers hunted and raised sheep and cattle to supply the market with meat for ships calling at the Cape. Guelke (1974 and 1976), however, convincingly brings Neumark's "pull-thesis" into question. Moreover, Guelke and Shell (1983) contend that trekboers were pushed from the Cape Town hinterland. Expensive arable land and high labor costs beyond the means of the

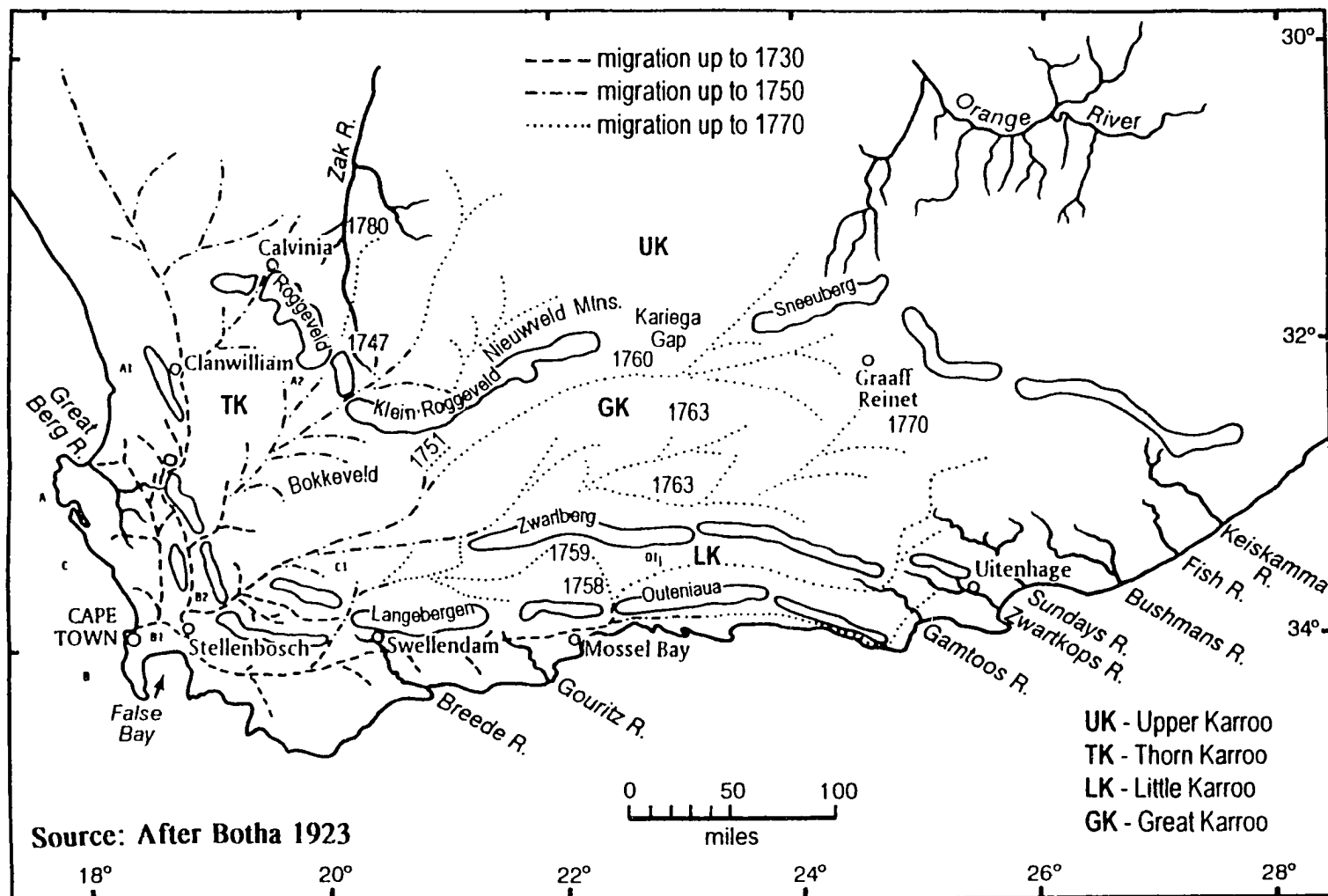


Figure 15 Migration of Stock Farmers in the Cape Colony During the Eighteenth Century
Source: After Botha 1923

majority of vrijburghers compelled trekboers to become semi-nomadic pastoralists. Elsewhere it has been argued that this rural trekboer society was strikingly egalitarian and homogenous (unlike seventeenth century European society) because in the Cape colony land was cheap and markets for farm produce poor (Harris and Guelke 1977a). Trekboer society was therefore a simplification of European society overseas (Harris 1977b). None of the aforementioned hypotheses, however, take into consideration how Europeans accustomed to intensive animal husbandry in Europe became open-range extensive pastoralists in an alien physical, economic, and cultural African setting. I propose that Khoikhoin-Dutch culture contact led to adaptation rather than simplification of seventeenth-century rural European society in the Cape Colony. The pastoral strategies developed by Dutch-Afrikaner trekboers in the western and southern parts of the Cape Colony were probably modelled on Khoikhoin precedents. A synopsis of Guelke's threefold classification of Dutch settlement in the Cape Colony between 1652 and 1779 serves as a backdrop to comprehending trekboer settlement expansion. This is followed by a discussion of European institutions, including, Calvinism, the kermis (Fair), opstal and leeningsplaatsen, morgen and erven, as well as the introduction of European sheep and cattle breeds that facilitated trekboer settlement expansion between 1717 and 1779.

Settlement Expansion

Guelke (1974) identifies three phases associated with European settlement of the Cape during the one hundred and thirty or so years after the Dutch founded a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652. During the first phase, 1652 to 1679, the

Dutch planted a refreshment station, vrijburghers granted (1657) land along the Liesbeeck River (Figure 16), and settlement expanded (1657-1662) in order to increase grain output and make the Cape more self-sufficient, and agriculture became more extensive. A period of stagnation (1662-1679), however, led the D.E.I.C. to take possession of Hottentots Holland in 1670 (Figure 16). By the conclusion of this first phase the Cape settlement comprised approximately 400 European people, of whom one-hundred and forty-two were adult vrijburghers. Forty vrijburghers were engaged in agriculture and many others shifted from wheat to wine production since the latter proved more profitable by the 1670's (Guelke 1974 Chapter 2 and 1976). Circa 1679 Dutch settlement was confined to the southwestern peninsular, and expansion was temporarily halted by the sandy Cape Flats (Figure 16). Furthermore, two Dutch-Khoikhoi wars (1659 and 1673-1679) had resulted in the subjugation of the Peninsular Khoikhoi and the Cochoqua. On the eve of settlement expansion (1679 to 1717), the western Cape Khoikhoi (Cochoqua) posed increased resistance to Dutch expansion (Elphick 1985 and Guelke 1974).

Within the second phase of Dutch settlement (1679-1717), two distinct periods are discernable. During the first (1679 to 1699), Governor Simon van der Stel's efforts at settlement expansion were concentrated in four geographical localities: (1) Stellenbosch established in 1679; (2) Drakenstein (1687); (3) Tigerberg vicinity (1685 to 1700); and (4) Wagonmakers Valley (Figure 16). Vrijburghers resident in the first two localities received 60 freehold morgen each, while residents in Wagonmakers Valley received grants that ranged between 30 and 60 morgen. In the Tigerberg environs, landholdings

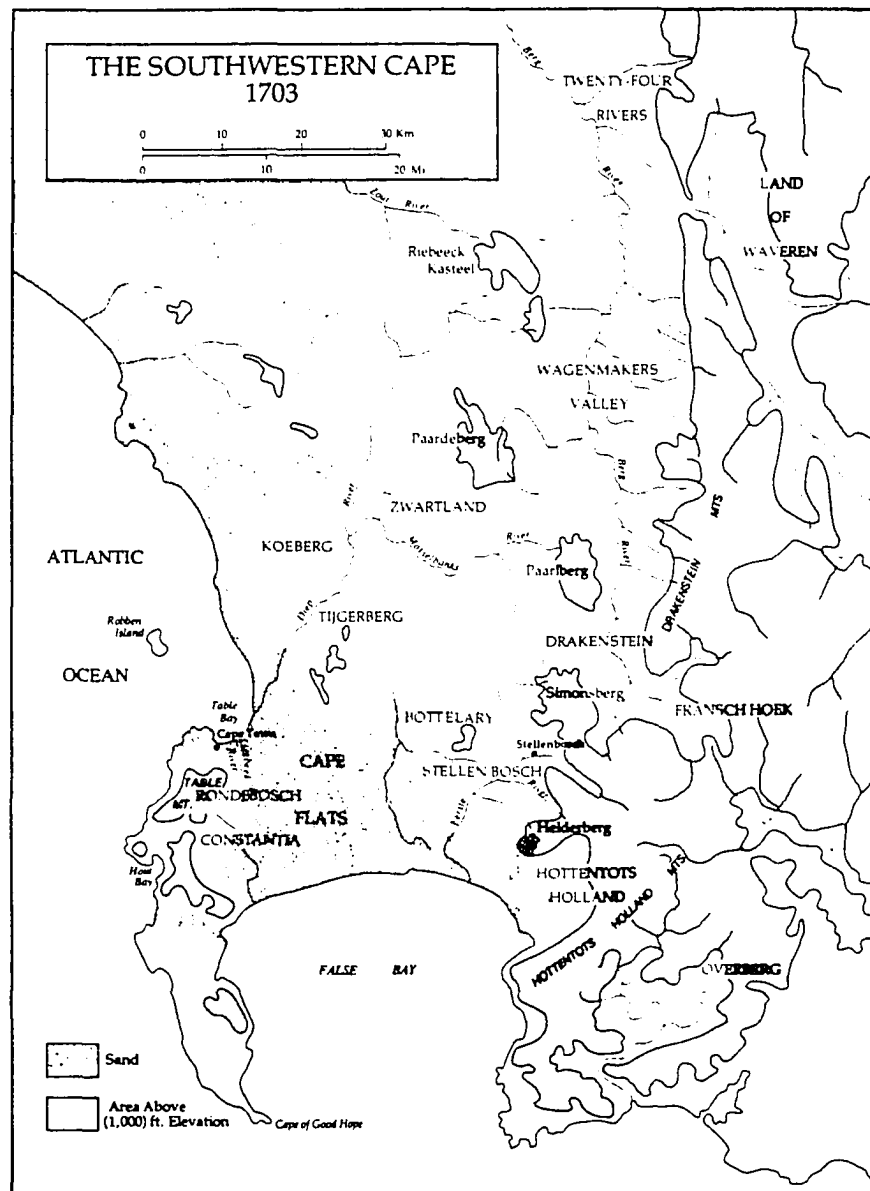


Figure 16 The Southwestern Cape, Circa 1703
Source: Guelke 1982

were smaller than 60 morgen, probably because of proximity to the Cape. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the free population totaled 1,265 souls who inhabited an area of 1,500 square miles (Guelke 1974:133). Wheat and wine production continued to increase as did livestock numbers. Sheep increased from fewer than 10,000 in 1680 to about 50,000 in 1700; and cattle increased from about 1,500 to approximately 10,000 during the same period (Ibid:141).

The legacy of Simon van der Stel's settlement policy was pervasive since, "he [van der Stel] had a free hand to decide such important matters as the new areas that should be opened up for settlement, the system of land allocation and the tenures under which allocated lands might be held..." (Ibid:114-115). Van der Stel's role in shaping settlement at the Cape resembles that of Joseph Ellicot, the resident land agent for the Dutch Land Company who guided and directed settlement on the post-Revolutionary frontier in western Upstate New York (Wyckoff 1988). It was during van der Stel's tenure that vrijburghers started moving their livestock beyond the colony's boundaries in search of pasture during the dry summer months. At this stage, settlement was confined to the southwestern Cape, a geographical locality dominated by winter precipitation.

During the second period (1699 to 1717) of settlement expansion, the Land van Waveren, northeast of Wagonmakers Valley, was settled (Figure 16). Moreover, settlement proceeded north toward the Zwartland and the Lower Berg river in the vicinity of Twenty-Four Rivers (Figure 16). By 1716 the settled area of the Cape exceeded 3,000 square miles and the free population had increased from 1,265 in 1700

to 1,828 in 1716 (Ibid:184). Livestock numbers also increased considerably-- sheep from 53,100 in 1701 to 120,200 in 1713 and cattle from 9,700 in 1701 to 16,500 in 1713 (Ibid:189). But the years between 1700 to 1717 were especially difficult for wheat and wine farmers since prices plummeted and production costs and taxation increased (Ibid:198). Aiding this expansion, Willem Adriaan van der Stel (1699 to 1708) gave vrijburghers in 1703 formal approval to graze their livestock beyond the settled area through the institution of the *leeningsplaatsen* (Ibid:177).

The third and final phase of European settlement at the Cape (1717-1779) was dominated by migratory trekboers who extended the colony's easternmost boundary three times during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1770 the Gamtoos river marked the colony's interior boundary; five years later it was shifted further eastward to the Bushman's river; and by 1778 the easternmost border of the Swellendam district was the Fish river (Ibid: 232-234; Pollock and Agnew 1963) (Figure 15). The colony's boundary was continually shifted in an attempt to bring trekboers within D.E.I.C. jurisdiction. Swellendam was established therefore as a separate district⁵ by 1745 with its own Landdrost and local government administration. The town of Graaff-Reinet was established in 1786, the fourth town to be established in South Africa (after Cape Town, Stellenbosch, and Swellendam) together with a landdrost and local D.E.I.C. administration (Figure 17). These two towns located in the extensive Swellendam

⁵ In chapter 3, I briefly discussed political district divisions in the Cape Colony and noted that there were ten such districts in 1826 (See Figure 13 in chapter 3). I discuss the evolution of these districts as part of the settlement and administrative geography of the Cape Colony under the D.E.I.C., Batavian, and British colonial administrations in the drosdty-administrative complex section of this chapter.

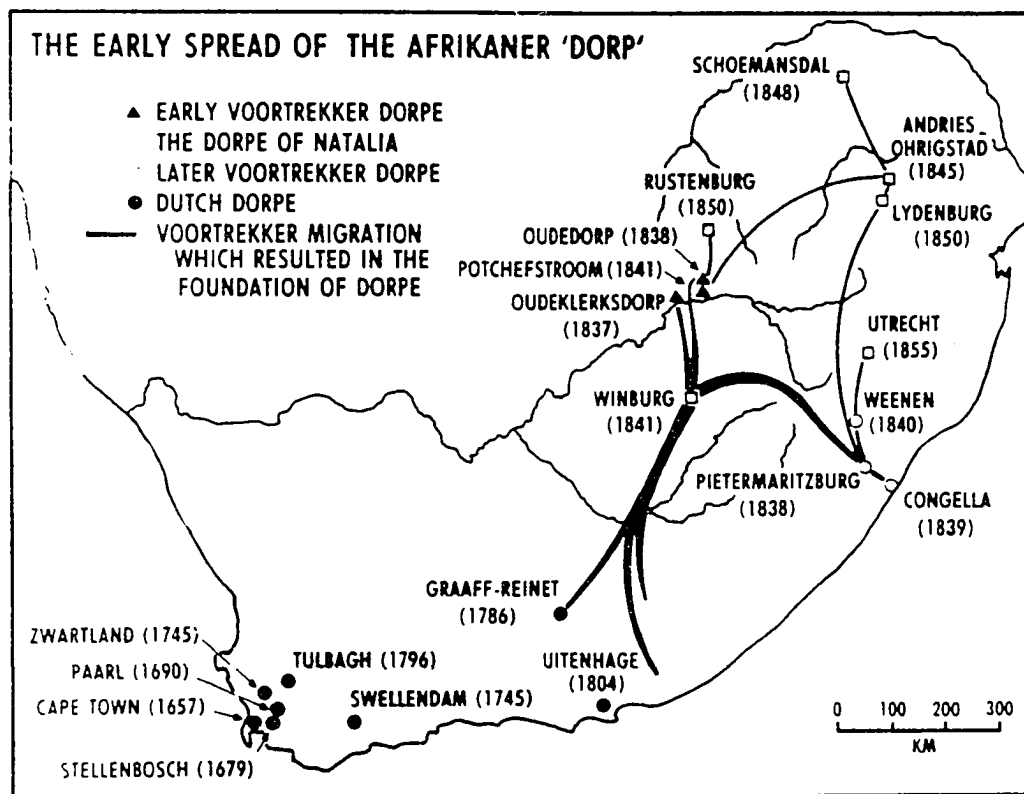


Figure 17 The Early Spread of the Afrikaner "Dorp"
Source: Haswell 1980

district served as socio-political and economic service centers for trekboers living in a vast wilderness. Those desirous of attending the quarterly communion services could make the trek to these towns and outspan their ox-wagon on the church-square. Here they could engage in conversation with friends, find a sympathetic ear as they complained of perilous conditions on their isolated farmsteads resulting from San incursions from the Sneeuwberg. Loss of livestock and poor grazing also figured in these social exchanges.

The dominance of the trekboer in frontier expansion, that by 1779 had reached the Fish river, is reflected in raw numbers. At the beginning of this third settlement phase (1717), the vrijburgher population numbered approximately 2,000 souls and inhabited an area of 10,000 square miles (Guelke 1976:29). By 1780 the vrijburgher population totalled approximately 10,500 and inhabited slightly less than 100,000 square miles (Ibid:34)⁶. Furthermore, during this growth period (1717 to 1779), the absolute and relative increase in the number of stockholders as a proportion of all agricultural producers reflects the dominance of open-range livestock herding on the eighteenth century Cape frontier (Table 7) (Guelke 1974:215 and 1976:33). Furthermore, the number of leeningsplaatsen issued provides a temporal perspective of peaks and ebbs in

⁶ It should be noted that the free population included about 10% "free black". Most resided at De Kaap (Cape Town); the free population excludes Khoikhoi and San. The absolute number and percentage increase of the free population by decade were: 1721- 2,101; 1731- 2,920 (39% increase); 1741- 3,866 (32% increase); 1751- 4,941 (28% increase); 1760- 6,155 (25% increase in nine years); 1770- 8,088 (31% increase); and 1780- 10,500 (30% increase) (Guelke 1974:214). At the close of this period (ie., 1770) the population at De Kaap accounted for 20% of the free population ie. 1,050 souls (Ibid 1976:32).

Table 7**Increase in the Number of Stock Holders, 1716 to 1770**

Year	Stock Holders	All Agricultural Producers	Stock Holders as a % of all Agricultural Producers
1716	34	360	9
1746	225	511	44
1770	600	908	66

Source: Guelke 1974: 215

Note:

A stockholder is defined as all individuals owning at least 50 sheep and 20 cattle and who were not engaged in commercial arable farming. The overwhelming majority of stock holders were located in the interior regions.

open-range livestock herding as well as the persistence of this livelihood in the Cape interior (See Table 2, chapter 2).

European Institutions

The importance of Dutch Calvinism as an ideology for cultural persistence and the concomitant social order in South Africa has been emphasized by a number of scholars (MacCrone 1957, Bjorland 1964, Guelke 1985, and Jacobson 1987)⁷. Trekboers moving onto the frontier carried and maintained their Dutch Calvinist religion despite the absence of churches and organized worship. Trekboer patriarchs regularly led the nuclear family in Bible reading and singing of hymns. As Christians they saw themselves as separate and superior to non-white heathen servants and slaves. Moreover, Calvinism predicated on predestination fostered trekboer individualism. This is manifest in Guelke's (1985:434-442 and 443-446) identification of two frontier communities in the eighteenth century Cape, one of exclusion and the other of inclusion. The former rationalized exclusion of non-white's from their society through Christianity, and particularly Dutch Calvinism, the latter, co-habiting with Khoikhoi in the extreme northeast part of the Cape, turned away from European institutions including Calvinism.

Establishment of the kermis or fair at Stellenbosch (Figure 16) in 1686 was the forerunner of the quarterly communion services (nagtmal). Nagtmal services were characteristic of Dutch dorpe in the Cape and later Dutch-Afrikaner dorpe in Natal and

⁷ Hexham (1980) and Du Toit (1983) negate the primacy of Calvinism and Afrikaner nationalism during the colonial period. Du Toit asserts that the link between Calvinism and Afrikaner nationalism is a mythic twentieth-century elitist Afrikaner creation to ensure Afrikaner social cohesion.

on the South African highveld where Voortrekker Republics were established. Governor Simon van der Stel instituted the first kermis at Stellenbosch in October 1686. Hereafter, the kermis was held annually during the first two weeks of October. The kermis attempted to recreate a Dutch institution in South Africa and as such served many functions in the Cape Colony under D.E.I.C. rule.

Initially, at Stellenbosch the most important function of the kermis was defensive; it included military exercises, drilling of the militia, and competition target-shooting with a cash-prize going to the burgher hitting the head off a target that resembled a parrot (papegaai) (Theal Volume I 1969:312-313). In addition to the pervasiveness of military exercises, burghers also took the opportunity to socialize, purchase and sell country products, and worship at the Dutch Reformed Church presided over by a qualified minister (dominie). Pleasure and recreation were characteristic of the kermis. Labor was temporarily stopped, and friendships were renewed as burghers from the Cape district journeyed to Stellenbosch with their wagons. A public meeting convened during the first Stellenbosch kermis in 1686 resulted in the erection of a building for public worship. Moreover, it was agreed that Dutch Reformed clergymen from the Cape district would visit the village of Stellenbosch once every three months to preach and administer holy communion (nagtmal) since the Stellenbosch district did not have qualified Dutch-Reformed clergymen (Ibid:313-314).

Approximately two years later, in 1688, and following the arrival of French Huguenots at the Cape after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by King Louis XIV in 1685, the quarterly communion service was extended further eastward to Drakenstein

(also referred to as French Hoek [Corner]⁸) where the majority of the Huguenots settled (Botha 1970⁹ and De Klerk 1975:9-10; 144-147) (Figure 16). Although most Huguenots settled at Drakenstein, Governor Simon van der Stel insisted that French immigrants also be settled amongst Dutch settlers at Stellenbosch so as to ensure acculturation and assimilation (Theal Volume I 1969:335). Despite these efforts at assimilation, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein remained predominantly Dutch- and French-speaking settlements, respectively. Nevertheless, for the convenience of parishioners resident at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, whose first language was either Dutch or French, Church services were alternatively conducted in French and Dutch. In addition, Reverend Francois Simond of Drakenstein preached to French worshippers in the Cape district once every three months while the Cape minister, Reverend van Andel administered the sacraments at Stellenbosch in Dutch (Botha 1970:50 and Theal Volume I 1969:335). Theal (Volume I 1969:335) asserts that conducting church services in Dutch and French alternatively as well as preaching in French at the Cape once every three months had Dutch antecedents. This was necessary following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes when French-speaking Calvinists emigrated to northern,

⁸ In present-day South Africa, the town of Franschhoek, situated south of Drakenstein, is the locus of Huguenot descendants and is thought to be the town referred to as Wyndal in American anthropologist Vincent Crapanzano's ethnography entitled, *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa* (1986). In this ethnography Crapanzano concludes that white residents of Wyndal are passively, yet apprehensively awaiting representative government in South Africa.

⁹ C. Graham Botha recounts the French Huguenot immigration, settlement, and contribution to Cape colonial society in his monograph entitled, *The French Refugees at the Cape*.

protestant parts of the Netherlands where French and Dutch parishioners worshipped together.

The opstal¹⁰, associated with D.E.I.C. loan-farm tenure (leeningsplaatsen), is a third institution with European precedents. In the occupation of extensive leeningsplaatsen, trekboers used the Dutch medieval right of opstal to establish ownership of these pastoral runs. This form of tenancy in the Netherlands entitled landless burghers to either construct a building or cultivate the land occupied on their landlord's estate. These and any other improvements could be sold by landless burghers to the next tenant; the land, however, still belonged to the original owner (Guelke 1992b:814). In Dutch South Africa, the house as well as all outbuildings and improvements on a trekboers loan-farm could be sold but the purchaser of the opstal leased the land from the D.E.I.C. (Theal Volume II 1969:332 and Guelke 1992b:814). Guelke (1992b:814) remarks that "it is ironic that a system originally intended to favour impoverished burghers in medieval Netherlands should later become one of the main legal engines for European colonial expansion in South Africa at the expense of the original inhabitants".

Another European institution harnessed in the settlement of the Cape under the D.E.I.C. was the morgen. Morgen referred to the unit area of land and was commonly used in Holland, Utrecht, as well as other parts of the Netherlands and Germany. The word morgen also means morning in Dutch (Pettman 1913:325). Hence, morgen refers

¹⁰ Opstal refers to all fixed improvements on a farm (Elphick and Giliomee 1989:568).

to the area that a farmer is able to plough with one span¹¹ of oxen during a morning's work (Ibid:325 and Branford 1987:229). Although the morgen varied from region to region and often from village to village within the Netherlands, the two most common variants were the Rijnlandse (Rhineland) morgen and the Hondsbosse morgen. The former, equivalent to 0.85 hectares, was used in central Holland while the latter, equivalent to 0.98 hectares, was used north of the IJ river (ie. north of Amsterdam) (De Vries 1974:281-282). The Rhineland morgen (0.856 hectares) used in the Netherlands was utilized in Dutch South Africa and was equivalent to approximately 2.11654 English acres. Dutch-Afrikaner and British governments in South Africa, however, deemed the morgen equivalent to two English acres (Duly 1968:xiii and Branford 1987:229).

The morgen was used to refer to the extent of both rural and urban cadastres in the Cape Colony, Natal, and the South African interior. Urban cadastres (erven)¹² throughout the Cape Colony measured one morgen (180 by 480 Rhineland feet) with the exception of Grahamstown where erven measured slightly less than one morgen (150 by 450 Rhineland feet) (Figure 17). Since Piet Retief, one of the Natal Voortrekker leaders, hailed from Grahamstown all erven in Natal dorpe as well as those dorpe (including Winburg) west of the Drakensberg, that were laid-out on the Natal Dutch-

¹¹ The number of oxen in a span varied from two to twenty-two (Pettman 1913:463 and Branford 1987:337).

¹² See "Dorp erven:150 by 450 Rhineland Feet" section in chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion of Dutch-Afrikaner units of measure including the morgen, Rhineland rood, and dorp erven in the Cape Colony, in general, and Natal, in particular.

Afrikaner settlement model, measured 150 by 450 Rhineland feet ie. the size of erven in Grahamstown (Haswell 1980).

In terms of rural landholdings, a 3,000 morgen loan-farm became the standard leeningsplaatsen after this form of land-tenure was sanctioned by Willem Adriaan van der Stel circa 1703 (Guelke 1982:83-84). In the eastern Cape, Natal, and Voortrekker Republics in the South African interior, a 3,000 morgen pastoral run was synonymous with a 6,000 acre landholding. As mentioned previously, the opstal associated with trekboer loan-farm tenure had European precedents. The preference of 3,000 morgen for Dutch-Afrikaner open-range pastoral landholdings, probably reflects an ecological adaptation necessitated by a dearth of water as well as pasture resources during the dry, winter months in the eastern part of South Africa. The extensiveness of these pastoral landholdings was also facilitated by the rudimentary form of D.E.I.C. land survey. Farm survey was undertaken by trekboers themselves by riding on horseback for a half hour in each of the cardinal directions of the compass¹³.

Khoikhoi society revolved around herding sheep and cattle. Three European residents and/or temporary sojourners¹⁴ at the Cape during the eighteenth century

¹³ See the "Demarcation" of pastoral landholdings discussion in the "Settlement Template" section of chapter 5 for a more detailed presentation of demarcation procedures of these extensive pastoral cadastres.

¹⁴ Frederick Otto Mentzel spent eight years at the Cape (1732-1740). Initially he was employed by the D.E.I.C. as a soldier but tutored one Captain Allemann's children during his last four or five years at the Cape. He left the Cape for Germany on January 2, 1741 and wrote *A Geographical and Topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope* circa 1787 in Prussia. In Prussia, Mentzel had access to both Peter Kolb and Anders Sparrman's writings entitled, *The Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope* (continued...)

stressed the importance of livestock, including cattle and sheep, in particular, in both Khoikhoi and trekboer daily life (Medley Volume I:1968, Mandelbrote 1944, and Forbes 1975). They were particularly struck by the central role of fat-tailed sheep in the daily, seasonal, and annual rhythm of Khoikhoi pastoral society. Peter Kolb, the German-trained mathematician and astronomer who lived at the Cape for twelve years between 1705-1712, noted that the Khoikhoi practice of anointing their bodies with sheep fat symbolized wealth. Hence, an abundance of fat reflected the relative wealth of the individual Khoikhoi (Medley 1968:49-50). Mentzel wrote in great detail about sheep: he distinguished between Khoikhoi, English, and Persian sheep in the southwestern Cape. He noted that while there were a variety of sheep in the colony, the Khoikhoi (or Cape sheep) predominated (Mandelbrote 1944:211).

These sheep were not wool-bearing and had long, thin tails. Governor W.A. van der Stel (1699-1707) who farmed in the vicinity of the Hottentots Holland Mountains was instrumental in importing English rams and Persian ewes that were crossed resulting in wool-bearing sheep (Mandelbrote 1944:210). It is estimated that van der Stel owned between 8,000 to 20,000 wool-bearing sheep¹⁵. Hereafter, at the close of the eighteenth century, Colonel Gordon imported Spanish Merinos and the Van Reenen

¹⁴(...continued)
(1731) and *Anders Sparrman A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the antarctic polar circle round the world and to the country of the Hottentots and the Caffres from the year 1772-1776* (1785-86) respectively. Mentzel borrowed liberally from Sparrmans account which is the most original and hence authoritative of the three.

¹⁵ This estimate is too liberal because in 1804 only 7,900 of the estimated 1,250,000 sheep in the colony were wool-bearing (Mandelbrote 1944:211).

brothers (see below) experimented with cross-breeding (Mandelbrote 1944:211). In terms of cattle, Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld claimed that Governor van Plettenberg introduced the first Friesland bull and cow in about 1775 (Thom 1942:103-105).

Despite these experiments, van Ryneveld, writing in 1804 as chairman of the "Commission for the improvement of stockbreeding and agriculture, chiefly for the conversion of the sheep of this Colony into so-called Spanish or wool-producing sheep", asserted that although European breeds of sheep and cattle had been introduced into the Cape during the course of the past 150 years, colonists remained skeptical of the advantages of cross-breeding Cape and European ovine and bovine (Thom 1942:191-192). While riding on horseback with the trekboer Jacob Laubscher, the owner of five stock farms along the Berg River, north of Cape Town, (Figure 16) Van Ryneveld was alarmed to see no Spanish or cross-bred Spanish sheep among Laubscher's flocks since the latter's flocks had given birth to about 1,200 lambs that year. In response to van Ryneveld's protestation, Laubscher replied, "Ik ben een vermogend man, en heb het niet nodig; ik blyf liever by myn oude gewoonte,- en welke moeite zal ik hebben om weer andere Rammen te bekommen¹⁶" (Thom 1942:77-79).

Because of burgher resistance and lack of means, van Ryneveld advocated that the Batavian Republic actively promote Cape and Spanish sheep cross-breeding through coercion and fines as well as the provision of 50,000 rixdollars for the purchase of pure-bred Spanish rams and cross-bred Spanish ewes. Moreover, part of this money would

¹⁶ "I am a man of means and do not need it [Spanish rams]; I prefer to adhere to my old ways, and what trouble shall I not have in acquiring yet other rams?"

be used for the hire or purchase of herdboys and suitable sheep-raising farms upon which said Commission would oversee cross-breeding (Thom 1942:85-87). Van Ryneveld proposed¹⁷ similar measures to improve the quality of Cape cattle, although he asserted that improvement of ovine was secondary to that of bovine improvement because "...de verbastering van het Rundvee hier veel vroeger begonnen, en heeft ook veel meer progressen gemaakt¹⁸" (Thom 1942:114-115).

In general, trekboers agreed that hybridized sheep and cattle breeds were superior to the indigenous ovine and bovine referred to as "Cape" breeds. The trekboers J.G. van Reenen and Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, from the Zwartland, who had been experimenting with cross-breeding sheep since the 1790's, concluded that these sheep yielded more wool (Thom 1942:55 and 171), tended to weigh more, and were more resistant to diseases, including scab, lice, and geilziekte¹⁹, than fat-tailed Khoikhoi sheep (Ibid:57, 155-161, and 171) (Figure 16). Although Dirk Gysbert van Reenen cited the thinner tails of cross-bred sheep as one disadvantage, he lauded them for their

¹⁷ Van Ryneveld was born in the Cape in 1765 and was the son of a D.E.I.C. official. Hence, he spent part of his adolescent life in Cape Town as well as the districts of Swellendam and Stellenbosch where his father served in an official capacity (Thom 1942:7). Van Ryneveld served in many government positions before been named chairman of the stock improvement Commission in May 1804 (Ibid:183-209). His writing about livestock improvement was transcribed, translated, and published in 1942 as *Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld se Aanmerkingen over de Verbetering van het Vee aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop 1804*. [Translated as, Remarks concerning the Improvement of Livestock at the Cape of Good Hope 1804].

¹⁸ "...the hybridization of the indigenous cattle started much earlier [than that of sheep] and has at the same time made much more progress."

¹⁹ Also called prussic acid poisoning characterized by stomach bloating after sheep consume grass which had been wilted by sudden heat following rain (Branford 1987:114 and Pettman 1913:185).

resistance to disease related to grazing certain vegetation which afflicted the fat-tailed variety (Ibid:173).

Trekboers identified three characteristics in hybridized cattle that made them superior to the indigenous Cape variety originally obtained from the Khoikhoi. These cattle tended to: (1) be hardier and stronger resulting in better work performance; (2) produce more milk; and (3) calve at an earlier age than the Cape cattle (Ibid:165, 167, 169, 173, and 179). Burgher Cloete, resident adjacent to the Eerste river in the Stellenbosch district, contended that hybrid oxen were hardier, survived on poor quality pasture, and performed an amount of work that regularly required two spans of Cape cattle (Ibid:167 and 169) (Figure 16).

Four trekboers, namely, J.G. van Reenen, Cloete, Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, Joh. Fred. Dryer agreed that cross-bred cattle were better milk producers than indigenous Cape cattle. Cloete claimed that his 50 to 70 cross-bred cows gave him 30-40 pails of milk daily, with which he marketed 6,000 pounds of cheese per annum. Cloete estimated that 300 Cape cows were needed to produce this amount of milk and cheese (Ibid:167). Burgher Joh. Fred. Dryer, resident on the Bree (Breede) river in the coastal area of the Swellendam district (Figure 15), had cross-bred cattle since the mid-1780's; he noted that hybrid cows produced milk for ten months of the year in contrast to Cape cows who only gave milk for six months. Moreover, individual cross-bred cows gave six times more milk than their Cape counterparts (Ibid:177 and 179). Dirk Gysbert van Reenen who farmed in the Zwartland (Figure 16), however, put the increased milk yield at only two-thirds that of a Cape cow. Furthermore, he also had a cheese factory which

produced 400 pounds of cheese for export during 1803 and 1804 (Ibid:173). Finally, some burghers believed that cross-bred cows lived longer and were tamer and more docile than Cape cows.

Burgher acceptance of the introduction of European livestock and cross-breeding these with indigenous ewes and cows was not ubiquitous throughout districts of the Cape Colony. From a geographical perspective, acceptance and practice of cross-breeding tended to decrease with increasing distance from Cape Town so that trekboers in the Graaff-Reinet district (Figure 13) were most opposed to experimentation with their livestock. In fact, the most severe problem in this district was procuring Dutch bulls (Ibid:113-115). Hence, Van Ryneveld recommended that the Commission supply Dutch bulls to Graaff-Reinet pastoralists at no cost to encourage hybridization. By the turn of the nineteenth century cross-bred cattle were found in the whole of Cape district, in a large proportion of the Stellenbosch district, and only in scattered locations of the Swellendam district (Ibid:109-111) (Figure 13). Generally, trekboer resistance to raising wool-bearing sheep was greater than resistance to the improvement of cattle throughout the colony (Ibid:113). Afrikander cattle were the product of such hybridization and remain the only breed indigenous to South Africa and a mainstay of the beef industry (Branford 1987:4).

An understanding of the salient geographical features of the physical environment, including the great escarpment and the Great and Little Karroo, is essential to comprehending trekboer migration and adaptation.

Trekboer Migration and Adaptation Circa, 1703 to 1795

Physical Geography

Great Escarpment

The Great Escarpment or plateau edge is the boundary marked by the Roggeveld, Nieuwveld, and Sneeuwberg Mountains between the vast plateau ranging from between 3,000 to 11,500 feet above sea-level and the area adjacent and below it (Wellington 1955:35) (Figure 15). Structurally the plateau is heterogenous. Since rock formations and climatic factors are variegated, the Great Escarpment is a variable feature in structure, height, abruptness and steepness of slope (Ibid:38-39). Furthermore, and of significance for trekboer migration and settlement, the escarpment is punctuated by numerous gaps (poorts). The 60-mile wide Kariëga Gap, cut by the Kariëga and Salt river headwaters of the Groot river, facilitated trekboer migration from the Basin of the Great Karroo to the plateau (Figure 15). This gap is bounded by Nieuwveld Mountains on the west and the lower Sneeuwberg on the east. Similarly, further east, the Cradock Gap, cut by the Great Fish River in the Winterberg-Amatola range, facilitated pastoralist migration, expansion, and settlement in the eastern Cape colony (Ibid:44).

The Great and Little Karroo

The Great Karroo basin lies between the Great Escarpment and the Folded Belt (ie. south of the Great Karroo) (Figure 15). The lowland within the southern Folded Belt is called the Little Karroo (Wellington 1955:279) (Figure 15). The Great Karroo Basin together with the Cape Folded Belt and Coastal Foreland constitute the Southern Cape physiographic region. The Cape Folded Belt dominates the Southern Cape

physiography and consists of a western and eastern zone. The former forms a wide arc, concave westwards with a general north-south trend. Mountains included in the western Cape Folded Belt include the Hottentots Holland; Drakenstein; and Cold Bokkeveld (from south to north) (Cole 1966:108) (Figure 16). In the eastern zone of the Cape Folded Belt the ranges have a general eastward trend (Ibid:106).

We are only concerned with the eastern Cape Folded Belt since trekboers had to negotiate these ranges when moving eastward from the southwestern Cape via Swellendam. This eastern zone includes two main lines of ranges, namely, (1) the Langebergen range to the south and (2) the Zwartberg range to the north (Ibid:108 and 110) (Figure 15). The Langeberg range stretches uninterrupted for 300 miles with the highest elevation (6803 feet) in the extreme west and lowest elevation (500 feet) above sea-level in the east where it merges with the coastal plain behind Cape St. Francis (Ibid:108). The Swartberg range attains its greatest height, 7632 feet, in the Klein Swartberg range; (Klein or smallness obviously makes reference to its short length rather than its low altitude). Although the width of the Swartberg decreases eastward, the Swartberg remain rugged as is evident in the Baviaans Kloof Mountains (Ibid:110).

In contrast with the western Cape Folded zone, the eastern folded zone valleys occupy a much greater proportion of the area. The Little Karroo and eastern valleys constitute these valleys. The Little Karroo is bounded (very generally) by the Gourits River to the west, the Zwartberg Orographic line to the north, and the Langeberg line to the south (Cole 1966:28) (Figure 15). The eastern valleys are eastward extensions from the Little Karroo proper. Elevations in the intermontane Little Karroo range from

less than 1000 feet to about 2000 feet (Ibid:112). It should be noted that the Cape folded ranges have a significant impact on precipitation distribution. Rain-shadow effects are evident in the valleys on the leeward of the principal ranges (Ibid:113-114).

The Great Karroo lies between the higher lying (relative to the Small Karroo), folded belt and the edge of the plateau. The Great Karroo is roughly bounded by the Swartberg in the south and the Great Escarpment marked by the Nieuwveld and Sneeuwberg mountains in the north. The Great Karroo is in effect a basin formed by the headward erosion of rivers whose courses traverse the Cape folds (Cole 1966:115). Similar to the folded belt, the Great Karroo Basin may be divided into two zones, western and eastern. The smaller western area is located between the folds and the Roggeveld Escarpment. The larger eastern area is located between the Nieuwveld-Sneeuwberg Escarpment and the Witteberg-Suurberg line of ranges. The eastern boundary of the Great Karroo is marked by the watershed between the Sunday's and Fish rivers (Ibid:117).

The Southern Coastal Foreland lies south of the Langeberg (Cole 1966:28 and Wellington 1955:118). On this coastal plateau rivers, including the Gamtoos and Sundays, have cut deep gorges that, on account of plentiful all-season precipitation, result in densely forested ravines (Wellington 1955:119).

Eighteenth-Century Migration Routes

At the most generalized level, three main trekboer migration routes, all originating at (Cape Town) De Kaap, are discernable (Figure 15). A first migration route (A) took trekboers northwest of De Kaap in the direction of the Great Berg river valley and

thence northeastward into the thorn Karroo with the Great Escarpment looming in the background. A second stream of migrating farmers (B) travelled in a southeasterly direction, crossed the Hottentots Holland Mountains (marked by Stellenboch), and were then channeled along the predominantly easterly orientation of the Cape Folded Mountains along the coastline. Later they trekked northeastward to Uitenhage on the coastal plain. The third migration route (C) was sandwiched between the first two. Trekboers migrated rapidly through the arid Great Karroo Basin. By 1778 they had reached Graaff-Reinet (founded 1785) at the foot of the Sneeuwbergen (Botha 1923:51 and Talbot 1961:303). These trekboers were not blazing trails into the wild interior South African veld.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries explorers, both D.E.I.C. employed and sanctioned as well as footloose individual colonists, traversed routes that were later used by trekboers (Botha 1923:55). Jan Wintervogel was the first Dutch explorer to go inland (50 Dutch miles) in 1655. Wintervogel, a seasoned naval captain whose experiences in Brazil and the south sea were known to the D.E.I.C., was sent in a northeasterly direction from De Kaap to Malmesbury (Ibid:56). Before the close of the seventeenth century, several parties had travelled in a southeasterly direction, traversed the Hottentots Holland Mountains, and migrated south of the Cape Fold Mountains (ie. onto the Coastal Foreland). In 1667 Jeronimus Cruse, a soldier who had been on many company bartering expeditions reached Mossel Bay (Ibid:60-61). Furthermore, trading expeditions, one in 1676 and another in 1689, were undertaken at the request of the Hessequa and Inquas respectively. The Hessequa, residents of the artificially Dutch

imposed Swellendam district, were visited by Jan Lourens Visser and company employees in 1676. In 1689 Isaac Schryver went as far as Oudtshoorn to trade with the Inquas who lived beyond the Outeniqua tribe (Ibid:62). On February 28, 1700 a government notice (placaat) issued by the Heeren Seventeen gave vrijburghers freedom to trade with the Khoikhoi in the interior (Guelke 1974:206). Vrijburghers would travel distances of 240 to 300 miles inland; some expeditions reached the Xhosa and Fish River (Ibid:207-208). This order paved the way for frequent, prolonged, and often intense Khoikhoi-Trekboer contact during the eighteenth century.

The generalized patterns of trekboer migration are more complicated in detail, particularly with reference to two (B and C) of the three routes. By 1730 northward migrating trekboers had traversed the coastal plain to the Olifants river (A1 on Figure 15), to the Clanwilliam area (A2), and across the northwest-southeast trending Cape folded ranges into the Cold Bokkeveld and Doorn river valleys (Cole 1966:101). Trekboer movement continued northward between the western Fold mountains and the Great Escarpment (on the east). A gap (poort) in the Great Escarpment at Calvinia afforded trekboers access to the plateau and the vital summer precipitation that accumulated in vleis and the episodic Zak river (reached in 1760) (A3) (Ibid).

By contrast, one minor (D1) and three major (B1, B2, and C) migration routes led trekboers to the eastern Cape frontier by 1770. Between 1700 and 1730 trekboers migrating eastward from the southwestern Cape crossed the Hottentots Holland Mountains through the Sir Lowry (named during British hegemony at the Cape) (route B1) and French Hoek Passes (route B2). Trekboers who took these routes settled on

the coastal plain south of the Langeberge. Trekboers in this geographical locality were joined by others who migrated via Tulbagh Kloof and Breede River valley. By 1730 trekboers following routes B1 and B2 had reached Mossel Bay. The third major trekboer migration route was through the Hex river pass (C1) between 1730 and 1760 from whence trekboers entered the basin of the Great Karroo. The extreme aridity of the Great Karroo was not conducive to a densely settled trekboer population. Hence, migration across this basin was coupled with low population densities. Consequently, by 1770 the entire Great Karroo terminating at Graaff-Reinet in the east was sparsely populated by semi-nomadic vrijburgher pastoralists.

A minor trekboer route (D1) through the Robinson Pass in 1765 enabled trekboers embarking along the coastal migration route to cross the Outeniqua mountains and enter the Little Karroo. The flow of trekboers into the Little Karroo augmented those who had taken the French hoek and Sir Lowry pass routes. From the Little Karroo, trekboers moved eastward, dwarfed by the Outeniqua (to the south) and the Zwartberge (to the north), and onto the coastal plain in the vicinity of Uitenhage near the Sundays river to just beyond the Fish river (Cole:103-105). Trekboer advance was regulated by relief; natural vegetation; surface water; the distribution of San, Khoikhoi, and Xhosa pastoralists (Talbot 1961:303); game resources; and accessibility to settled areas (Guelke 1974:218).

By 1770, trekboers inhabited a roughly semi-circular area defined by the settlements of Stellenbosch, Land van Waveren, and Drakenstein, all of which had been planted during the second phase of settlement (1679-1717) at the Cape (Figure 16). The area

inhabited by trekboers in the hinterland of these settlements included the southwestern corner of the plateau; the Great Karroo; and the southern Cape Fold Mountain region south of the aforementioned locales. During the period (1717-1770) of rapid trekboer expansion, the western and central Cape Khoikhoi were systematically dispossessed of their ancestral land as trekboers permanently occupied springs and permanent water courses-- a practice sanctioned by D.E.I.C. policy of loan-farms (Guelke 1992b:819-820).

But these African-born pastoralists whose parents and possibly grand-parents had been resident at the Cape since the third quarter of the seventeenth century (Guelke 1988:469 and 1976:31-32) came into contact with, almost totally transformed western Khoikhoi societies by 1720 (Elphick 1985:235). These individual Cochoqua, Chainouqua, and Hessequa Khoikhoi were employed as servants by trekboer pastoralists to tend their livestock. Furthermore, as time passed, the fragmentation of Khoikhoi societies (Gouriqua, Attaqua, Damasqua, and Gonaqua) resident between the Gourits and Great Fish rivers (ie. central Cape Khoikhoi) repeated the example of the western Khoikhoi during the preceding half century or so. Trekboers settled indigenous Khoikhoi lands within the parameters of European-derived institutions and technology namely, the leeningsplaatsen, fair (kermis), and northern European livestock, but trekboers also adapted institutions and technologies that were utilized by indigenous pastoral societies. It is to these adaptations and borrowings from Khoikhoi and Xhosa pastoralists that we now turn.

Adaptation and Borrowing

Language: Cape Dutch Vernacular

Cape Dutch vernacular (Roberge 1992:46) was spoken by vrijburghers, servants, and slaves at the Cape during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A conservative school of Afrikaans linguists identify Cape Dutch vernacular as the first step in normal evolutive change (from High Dutch) which culminated in the birth of Afrikaans, the only Germanic language to originate outside of Europe in 1875. Creolists, however, reject the thinking and arguments of the neo-Germanic school in favor of a liberal creole thesis²⁰. In short, creolists contend that seventeenth-century Dutch settlement at the Cape occurred within the context of a Low Portuguese *lingua franca*. Low Portuguese served as a lingua franca in coastal parts of west and east Africa, Brazil, South Asia, the Caribbean, and other Portuguese colonial possessions scattered throughout the Pacific archipelago from the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century (Jordaan 1974:461). This lingua franca was used by the Dutch when they took control of previous Portuguese possessions including Indonesia and their capital located at Batavia. Cape Dutch vernacular evolved from this *lingua franca* that was introduced to the Cape by Dutch officials, sailors, and soldiers as well as African and Oriental slaves (Ibid:461 and 465-71 and Mandelbrote 1944:105). Linguists identify Cape Dutch vernacular as distinct from Dutch circa 1750-75 (Roberge 1992:33). Although

²⁰ Valkhoff (1966) formulates this argument in, *Studies in Portuguese and Creole with special reference to South Africa*. The creole-thesis is also propagated by Jordaan (1974) "The Origins of the Afrikaners and their Language, 1652-1720: A Study in Miscegenation and Creole" and by Roberge (1992) in "Afrikaans and the Ontogenetic Myth".

Afrikaans linguists disagree concerning the purity of the language, they are in agreement that Afrikaans is a new language. The Afrikaner experience is succinctly and controversially expressed by the poet Breyten Breytenbach²¹ who asserted that, "we [the Afrikaner] are a bastard people with a bastard language. Ours is a bastard nature. That is good and fine. And like all bastards, uncertain of their identity, we have begun to cling to the concept of purity" (quoted in Jordaan 1974:461).

Dutch-Afrikaner adaptation is also evident in borrowing from the Khoikhoi for names of geographical features including rivers, springs, and mountains and extensive pastoral landholdings. Mentzel noted that although mountains, rivers, and springs in the northwestern Cape had Cape Dutch names they were translations of the original Khoikhoi names (Mandelbrote 1944:137). Two examples illustrate Dutch-Afrikaner borrowing and modification of Khoikhoin vocabulary. The termination "qua" found in the names of Khoikhoin tribes means "the people of", "the sons of", or "the men of" a particular geographical locality. Although the prefix attached to "qua" is usually the chief's or tribe's name (Eg. Namaqualand and Griqualand West), it may also capture the salient characteristics of a given geographical locality. Hence, the word Outeniqua referring to the mountains that mark the southern border of the Little Karroo means "the men laden with honey" (Botha 1923:30-31). Similarly, the names of geographical features that end in "kama" (or kamma) refer to water; these are derived from the Khoikhoin word "gami" (water) which is generally spelled "kamma", e.g., the

²¹ Breytenbach, who has been termed an Afrikaner Dante (Weschler 1993:78-100), writes with conviction and clarity about Afrikaans as a creole language in, *The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist* (1985:353-357).

Keiskamma river and the Zitzikamma forest in the eastern part of the Cape Colony (Botha 1923:34).

The names of farms are also instructive since they reflect trekboer experience and adaptation in an alien physical and cultural environment. Many farm names, referring to the numerous animals and game, were often compounded with terms describing physical features including krans (precipice), berg (mountain), rivier (river), fontein (fountain or spring) and kloof (ravine or wooded gorge)²² (Botha 1923:95-96). In fact, most animal names were compounded with "fontein", hence the farm names, "bok fontein" (buck) and "leeuwen fontein" (lion) (Ibid:103). Another common compound was "kraal." "Corral" in Spanish meant a court or enclosure while in Portuguese "curral" referred to a cattle pen or enclosure (Ibid:43). In other instances, the prefix compound referred to the dominant vegetation or physical character of the locality. "Brakke Fontein", "klip fontein", "wolve kraal" indicated brackish water quality, a rocky landscape near a spring, and the presence of wolves in the vicinity of these three farms, respectively (Ibid:110-111). Trekboer experiences and emotion were two final sources for farm names. For example, the farms named "Moordenaars kraal" (murderers kraal) and "weglopers heuvel" (runaway hill) reflected two frontier experiences, namely murder associated with conflict and challenges to the institution of slavery (Ibid:100-101). Trekboer pleasure at the discovery of unoccupied land endowed with either water or pasture, the pastoralists' most important resources, resulted in farm

²² These and other distinctively South African vernacularisms are termed *Africanderisms*, that is, "Dutch words [or of Dutch origin] and idioms in use in South African English" (Pettman 1913:23).

names like "weltevreden" (contented), "blyde rivier" (happy river), and "welkom" (welcome) (Ibid:111, 112, and 109).

Apparel

Although the Khoikhoi residing close to Swellendam seldom wore shoes those that did wore either tanned leather or raw leather velskoens²³. Kolb when discussing early eighteenth century Khoikhoi dress in general distinguishes between two types of shoes, namely "leather-stockings" and sandals (ie. velskoens) (Medley Volume I 1968:189). Leather stockings were worn by both Khoikhoi and trekboers to protect their legs from briars and thorns when accompanying their livestock to pasture. Velskoens, made of raw ox- or elephant hide, were worn when these pastoralists traversed rocky or sandy terrain.

Trekboers also wore these velskoens, which probably was an adaptation to frontier life. Raw leather velskoens were more durable than velskoens made of tanned leather. Furthermore, raw leather velskoens were cheaper because the leather used to make them was untreated. A final advantage of raw leather velskoens was that the trekboer or Khoikhoi semi-nomadic pastoralist could make a pair in an hour or two (Forbes Volume I 1975:190-191). Sparrman wore a pair of raw leather velskoens on his journey through the Cape in 1775-76 (Ibid Volume II:106) and was so impressed with them that he took them back to Sweden when he left the Cape in May 1776 (Ibid Volume I:13 and 191). Similarly, Khoikhoi residing north and northwest, adjacent to the Atlantic ocean, of De

²³ W.P. Lubbe (1971:16) in *The Story of the Velskoen* notes that velschoen means "hide shoe" although it is also frequently called veldschoen (field shoe). Cited in Sparrman 1785:191.

Kaap only wore velskoens while tending cattle, on hunting expeditions, and when travelling. Trekboers resident in this geographical locality also wore these raw ox-hide velskoens; only vrijburghers and D.E.I.C. residing at De Kaap wore boots made by shoemakers (Mandelbrote 1944:318).

Food

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries biltong was a staple in both Khoikhoi and trekboer diets (Medley 1968 Volume I:207-208; Mandelbrote 1944:100-101; Forbes 1975 Volume I:98; Gordon-Brown 1941:78-79). Pettman (1968:60) describes biltong ("bil"- buttock and "tong"- tongue) as "strips of lean meat slightly salted and hung up in the open air until they become quite dry and hard; in this form it becomes an invaluable adjunct to the commissariat of the hunter or traveller. It is eaten uncooked, [and] is found to be very nourishing...". In addition to simply drying meat, trekboers also smoked and/or pickled venison, mutton, pork, and beef (Mandelbrote 1944:105-106 and 114). Schapera (1930:238 and 1933:55) asserts that this method (ie. drying) of preserving meat coupled with the trekboer penchant for biltong is probably attributable to Khoikhoi-trekboer contact and interaction. When meat was plentiful among Khoikhoi societies, it was preserved by cutting the meat into thin strips that were salted and dried in the sun (Forbes 1975 Volume II:235). In the northwestern Cape, Khoikhoi had a penchant for hippopotamus and elephant biltong; the latter was, however, avoided by trekboers owing to its awful odor (Mandelbrote 1944:292).

William Burchell's observation of the Klaarwater Khoikhoi method of preserving meat while travelling with them in the northwestern Cape in 1811 typifies European

(Anglo and Dutch-Afrikaner) adaptive frontier processes that were facilitated through trekboer-Khoikhoi contact and interaction. While on route to Klaarwater, west of present-day Kimberley, Burchell wrote that:

We agreed to rest a dayas well as to refresh our teams [oxen], as to give the people [Khoikhoi] an opportunity of hunting Elands, of which a considerable number had been seen under the mountains. Those who remained by the wagons, were busily employed in cutting up the meat of the four Elands, brought home the day before, into large slices generally less than an inch in thickness, which they hung on the bushes to dry. All the bushes around us, covered with large flaps of meat, was to me, a novel sight; but it was one to which in the following years, I became completely habituated; as the nature of the life we led, rendered it a regular business. The firmest and best meat was, in this manner, cured without salt, in two or three days, in proportion as the state of the weather was more or less dry. The entrails, and other parts which had a greater tendency to putrefy, were eaten while fresh" (Burchell 1822 Volume I:218).

Biltong was part of the fare provided generously by trekboer families to travellers including Sparrman, Immelman (cited in Mandelbrote 1944:92), Lichtenstein (cited in Pettman 1968:60), and Adams (Gordon-Brown 1941:78-79) in the western and eastern Cape during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mentzel (1944:92), son of a Prussian Hofrat and court physician, was aghast at such "...an unnatural diet [biltong] of people [trekboer] who, though not born in Europe, are still of European descent". When Mentzel expressed strong reservations to a mulatto Khoikhoi residing at the Zwartkops river in the eastern Cape concerning his eating beef biltong, the latter replied in broken Dutch, "Baas! [master] but you too eat raw uncooked bacon. The air dries meat just as well as smoke and makes it as good to eat" (Ibid:92). Although biltong was also consumed at the tables of Company officials and vrijburghers residing at De Kaap, it was less important than in the diet of trekboers resident further from the De Kaap (Talbot 1961:307). It was a trekboer custom to give newly married trekboer

couples edible gifts, including biltong, and tools when they left the nest (Mandelbrote 1944:113). Vrijburghers undertaking D.E.I.C. sanctioned expeditions into the South African interior also took biltong with them (Ibid:126).

Pastoral Complex

Trekboer daily life revolved around their prize possession, livestock. The importance of livestock is manifest in two respects, namely, (1) social strategies devised to acquire livestock and (2) pastoral strategies devised for sustenance of their large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, including sweet-sour veld transhumance and livestock lending strategies²⁴. When making a start following marriage, parents gave both spouses livestock gifts to establish themselves. Generally the wife's dowry consisted of a few head of cows or sheep while the son's most important gift included a wagon and a span of six to ten oxen as well as a young bull (no cows). An occasional gift of a hundred sheep and few rams was rare and considered extravagant (Mandelbrote 1944:111-112). Moreover, it was a common trekboer custom to grant children a few head of livestock at birth that were given the baptismal name of each sibling. These livestock and their offspring were marked and kept as a gift when their children left home; bulls going to the sons and cows to the daughters (Mandelbrote 1944:112).

Drostdy-Administrative Complex

The drostdy-administrative complex was instituted by the D.E.I.C. during its tenure at the Cape (See Figure 13). This system of government administration was continued

²⁴ Trekboer and indigenous pastoral societies sweet-sour veld transhumance strategies are discussed in the following section of this chapter.

by the British colonial government in the Cape and was the system of government that the Voortrekkers modelled their Republican governments on in Natal, the South African Republic, and the Orange River Republic as they trekked eastward and settled South Africa²⁵. The drostdy-administrative complex generally consisted of a dorp/town where the office of the landdrost was located as well as the appointment of heemraaden and field-cornets responsible for administering law and order in the many wards that constituted an administrative district²⁶. When Dutch settlement was still confined to the southwestern Cape there were only two administrative districts, namely, the Cape and Stellenbosch. The dorp at Stellenbosch was established by Governor Simon van der Stel in November 1679 (Theal Volume I:246) and six years later, in July 1685, the first landdrost was appointed (Theal Volume I:267). In the next century or so, only two more administrative districts were established by the D.E.I.C.: Swellendam in August 1745 and Graaff-Reinet in December 1785 (Boeseken et al:1953:56 and Theal Volume II:52 and 216). These districts and dorpe were named after the compounded names of Governors' Swellengrebel and Van de Graaff and their wives (Ibid:53 and 216). The objective of their establishment was not to promote controlled trekboer settlement expansion. Instead, de facto trekboer settlement expansion through the occupation of

²⁵ Drostdy, German in origin, referred to the town or district over which a landdrost (magistrate) had jurisdiction (Pettman 1913:155 and Branford 1987:93).

²⁶ The terms landdrost and heemraad are derived from Dutch. Generally, one landdrost was appointed to oversee the administration of a district with the help of many, usually six, heemraaden who served as petty, rural magistrates. Field-cornets (veld cornets) maintained law and order in their particular wards (Pettman 1913:169, 210, 290 and Branford 1987:105, 131-132, and 194).

3,000 morgen loan-farms necessitated that the D.E.I.C. establish administrative districts, lay-out dorpe, and appoint the trilogy of landdrost, heemraaden, and field-cornets for their administration. Later, the Dutch Reformed church and other social institutions were added to expand the initial drostdy-administrative complex²⁷.

When the Cape was governed by the Batavian Republic (1803-1806), following the Treaty of Amiens, two additional districts, namely, Tulbagh and Uitenhage were added through reduction of the Stellenbosch and Graaff-Reinet districts, respectively (Boeseken et al:1953:57). Under British hegemony, the district of Swellendam was reduced through the creation of the district of George in 1811 (Branford 1987:93). Further district sub-divisions between 1811 and 1826 resulted in the establishment of Beaufort, Albany, and Somerset districts bringing the total number of district drostdies to ten. In addition, Tulbagh was renamed Worcester during this time (See Figure 13). Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists, their servants, as well as English-speaking frontier farmers who embarked on the Great Trek commencing in 1836 departed from these eastern Cape frontier districts, particularly, Albany, Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, and Uitenhage districts (Walker 1940) where Xhosa-frontier farmer conflict coupled with an apathetic British colonial administration to the hardship and protection of frontier farmers, including English-speaking pastoralists, led to their exodus to Natal and the South African highveld (Cloete 1856:30-63). The drostdy-administrative complex which was the

²⁷ A detailed discussion of the implantation and functioning of the drostdy-administrative complex in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal follows in the "Settlement Expansion" section of chapter 5.

product of blending Dutch antecedent institutions and South African adaptations was utilized in the settlement and expansion process in Natal.

Geographical Regionalization of Pastoral Strategies and Settlement Systems

Introduction

Table 8(a-e) provides a summary of pastoral strategies associated with Khoikhoin, Bantu (includes Xhosa and Zulu societies), and trekboer semi-nomadic pastoralists in five geographical localities in colonial South Africa (See Figures 18, 10, 19, and 20[a-c]). Transhumance migration is the predominant pastoral strategy used by each of the four societies identified. This section discusses transhumance migration in the western and southern Cape geographical localities and the importance of sweet/sour veld transhumance in the eastern Cape geographical locality where the wet season occurs during the summer months. This seasonal sweet- sour veld pastoral strategy in the eastern Cape, I show was later implemented by Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists when they migrated from the eastern Cape Colony and settled in Natal commencing in 1838. Moreover, in Natal, the Zulu had adopted a similar strategy to overcome the dearth of water and pasture resources, in particular, during the dry winter season in Natal and Zululand.

Western and Southern Cape Colony Localities

Transhumance migration as a pastoral strategy is especially important in the western Cape colony (Figure 18 and Table 8[a]) where the difference between winter rainfall and summer drought along the coast are especially pronounced (Figure 19). The dearth of moisture in the dry season coupled with freezing temperatures and snow in the

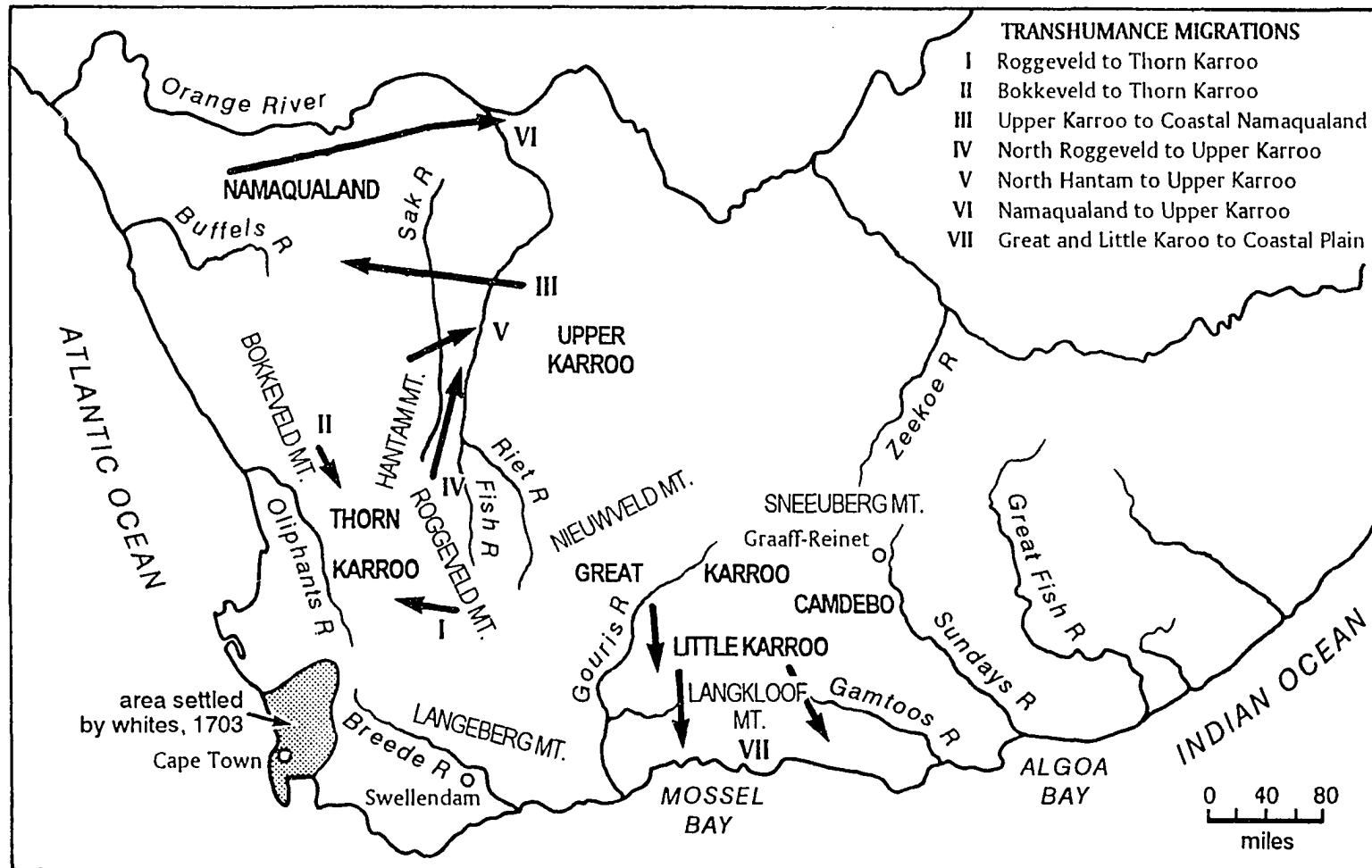


Figure 18 Transhumance Migration in the Western and Southern Cape
Geographical Localities
Source: After Talbot 1961 and Guelke 1976

Table 8(a)

Summary of Transhumance Migration in Colonial South Africa:
Western Cape Locality

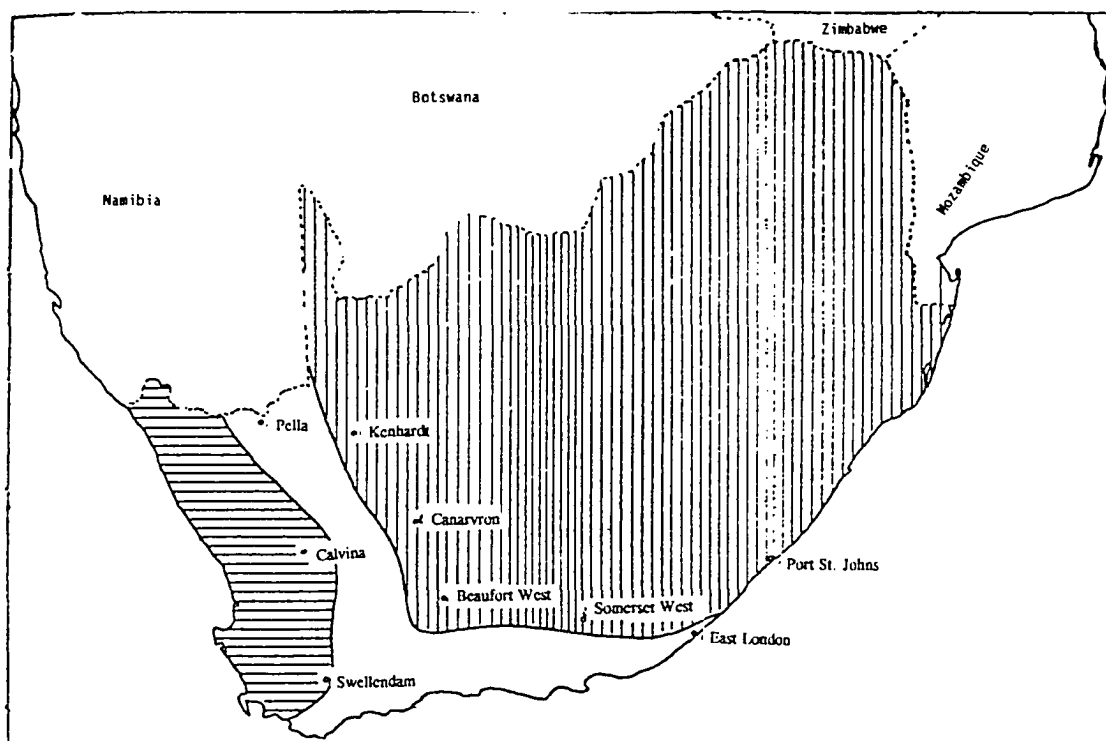
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALITY	PRECIP. REGIME	TRANSHUMANCE VARIATIONS	TRANSHUMANCE DICTATED BY:	SETTLEMENT PATTERN
Western Cape Colony	Winter	Moved from Roggeveld and Bokkeveld to Thorn Karroo (#1 & #2 Fig.18)	Cold winds and snow in mountains to annuals in Thorn Karroo.	Home farm in mountains <u>Winter:</u> Lay-farm in Thorn Karroo
	Winter	Moved from Upper Karroo to coastal Namaqualand (#3 Fig.18)	Water scarcity in Upper Karroo in contrast to lush, nutritious annuals of coastal belt.	Home farm in Upper Karroo <u>Winter:</u> Open range grazing Namaqualand
	Winter	Northerly parts of Roggeveld (#4) and Hantam (#5) to Upper Karroo (Die bult or Trekveld); Namaqualand to Upper Karroo (#6)	Summer drought in Roggeveld, Hantam, & Namaqualand. Summer Thunderstorms enabled vegetation to sprout & water to accumulate in shallow pans (vleis) in the trekveld.	Along Sak River. No claims. Water & pasturage used on communal basis; adjacent to Orange river. No claims, communal usage

Source: Mandelbrote 1944:47, 57, 67-69, 75, 173, 203, 243; Cloete 1851:4; Schapera 1930:296; and Talbot 1961:305-306

Note:

Pastoralists were following 2 Precedents namely:

1. Large Mammals as Springbok, Wildebeest, and Blesbok and
2. Khoikhoi (Hottentot) Seasonal migrations (Mentzel 1787: 243 and Elphick 1989: 58)



Horizontal shading denotes Winter rainfall
 Vertical shading denotes Summer rainfall
 Clear shading denotes Summer & Winter rainfall

Figure 19 Seasonal Precipitation in South Africa
 Source: After Wellington 1923

Roggeveld, Bokkeveld, and Hantam mountains in winter necessitates both winter (#1-3 Figure 18) and summer (#4-6 Figure 18) transhumance migrations. On the summer migrations semi-nomadic pastoralists used water and pasture resources on a communal basis along and adjacent to the Sak and Orange rivers, respectively. On the winter migrations, pastoralists aimed to claim and own lay-farms in the Thorn Karroo and Namaqualand. These early trekboer transhumance movements into the interior, north and northeast of Cape Town, evolved during the first approximately 80 years of European settlement. Modelled on the precedents of large indigenous mammals [trekbokke] (Mandelbrote 1944:243; Talbot 1961:306) and the Little Namaqua and Peninsular Khoikhoin (Schapera 1930:296; Elphick 1985:58), many trekboers employed the scattered Khoikhoi as shepherds and did little seasonal herding themselves.

Pastoralists residing in the southern Cape coastal margin (Figure 18 and Table 8[b]) were sandwiched between the winter rainfall regime of the western Cape and the predominance of summer rainfall in the eastern Cape (ie. east of the Gamtoos River) (Figure 19). In the southern Cape pastoralists had to contend more with cold winter winds and snow in the Zwartberg and Outeniqua Cape fold mountains rather than the extreme winter aridity of the Thorn and Upper Karroo in the western Cape geographical locality. Hence, in winter trekboers moved their sheep and livestock from higher elevations in the Cape fold mountains to the flat plains of the Little and Great Karroo. Furthermore, during the eighteenth century, trekboers followed the Khoikhoin practice of moving sheep and cattle in summer from the western Cape geographical locality to

Table 8(b)

Summary of Transhumance Migration in Colonial South Africa:
Southern Cape Locality

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALITY	PRECIP. REGIME	TRANSHUMANCE VARIATIONS	TRANSHUMANCE DICTATED BY:	SETTLEMENT PATTERN
Southern coastal part of Cape Colony (East of Swellendam to Gamtoos River) (Fig. 18)	Both Winter and Summer precipitation. No definite seasonality but decreases as proceeds inland	Move from Cape Fold mountains to Lowland coastal regions (#7 Fig. 18)	Cold winds and occasional snow in Small & Great Karroo	Temporary winter grazing <u>South of Small and</u> Great Karroo

Source: Mandelbrote 1944:95, 98, 331 and Forbes 1975.

the Great Karroo interior where summer rainfall provided succulent Karroo shrubs for livestock (Halverson 1930:90).

Eastern Cape Colony, Zululand, and Natal

Trekboer pastoralists entered the humid eastern half of South Africa when they crossed east of the Gamtoos river (20" isohyet) (Wellington 1923:46-48 and 1955:Map III). The summer wet season began at approximately the mouth of the Gamtoos and extended eastward to Natal and Transvaal and Orange Free State in the South African interior. In these well-watered parts of South Africa, pastoralists identified sweet- and sourveld pasturage. Pastoralists used the terms sweet- and sourveld to refer to the nutritional value of pasturage (Forbes 1975; Talbot and Talbot 1960:xl). Sweetveld consists of grasses which remain nutritious throughout the year, even when dry. Sourveld grasses, by contrast, are nutritious only during their early stages of growth, particularly after the onset of late spring - early summer rains. After about three months, the protein and phosphorous content of sourveld grasses decreases, their lignin and cellulose contents increase, and they become unpalatable and indigestible to livestock (Wellington 1955: 286 and 290-296; Talbot 1961:300). Generally sourveld grasses predominate on leached soils; consequently they are found in abundance east of the Gamtoos, particularly along the well-watered coast in the eastern Cape, Natal, and Zululand and at higher elevations (above 4,500 feet) in interior Natal, Lesotho, and on the highveld in the Transvaal and Orange Free State (Meadows 1992 Personal Communication; Wellington 1955:286). The occurrence of dry winters in the well-watered eastern Cape, Natal, and Zululand geographical localities necessitated

transhumance to sourveld grasses with the onset of the rainy season. In the eastern part of South Africa, the pastoralists' preferred strategy was to graze livestock on sweetveld grasses in the winter months, on sourveld grasses in late spring - early summer, and on mixed veld during the transition between this sweet-sourveld regime. A brief presentation of Xhosa transhumance migration and settlement in the eastern Cape is followed by a detailed discussion of Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu refugee pastoral strategies and settlement systems in interior Natal.

The overwhelming majority of Xhosa occupied home farms on the slopes of smaller mountains such as the Winterberg and Amatole that provided both sweet and sourveld pasturage (Figure 10) (Peires 1982:2). The ideal strategy for Xhosa pastoralists was to graze cattle on sweetveld pastures close to their kraals during winter, when the sourveld was at its lowest quality and to rest sweetveld pastures in summer by moving livestock to the sourveld grasses of the coastal plain (Ibid:9; Thompson 1990:18). But since the ideal was not always possible, certain alternative strategies were devised. Figure 10 and Table 8[c] provide a summary of the transhumance strategies of three Xhosa lineages.

Similarly in Zululand, chiefs of the Zulu, Ndwandwe, and Mthethwa tribes selected sites for their home kraals so that herdsmen had access to sweet- and sour veld grasses for their livestock throughout the year (Figure 20 and Table 8[d]). Kraals were therefore located along hilltops that intersected the river valleys of the White and Black Mfolozi Rivers, thus giving herdsmen access to a variety of grazing within a radius of approximately twenty miles (Guy 1980:109). In this manner, livestock were moved to

Table 8(c)

Summary of Transhumance Migration in Colonial South Africa:
Eastern Cape Locality

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALITY	PRECIP. REGIME	TRANSHUMANCE VARIATIONS	TRANSHUMANCE DICTATED BY:	SETTLEMENT PATTERN
Eastern Cape (East of Gamtoos River) i.e. Between Gamtoos & Kei Rivers (Fig. 10)	Summer	Xhosa move from river valleys (sweetveld) in uplands to coastal (sourveld grazing) regions in summer (Fig. 10)	Nutritional and palatability of pasturage i.e. sweet-sourveld regime	Own a winter (home) farm and a summer (temporary) farm. Former is located on the ridges intersecting valleys of hilly country. Chungwa <u>Summer:</u> Grazing near Uitenhage; <u>Winter:</u> Grazing in Bushmans river valley. Ndlambe <u>Summer:</u> Grazing on coastal Plain; <u>Winter:</u> Grazing in Fish River valley. Ama Mbalu <u>Summer:</u> Grazing South of mountains; <u>Winter</u> Lower slopes of mountains
	Summer	Dutch pastoralists move from mountains (e.g. Sneeuwbergen) to Camdeboo	Coldness	<u>Summer:</u> Grazing on the Cambedoo <u>Winter:</u> Grazing in low foothills of Sneecuberg

Source: Sparman; Peires 1982: 7-12; and Thompson 1990: 18

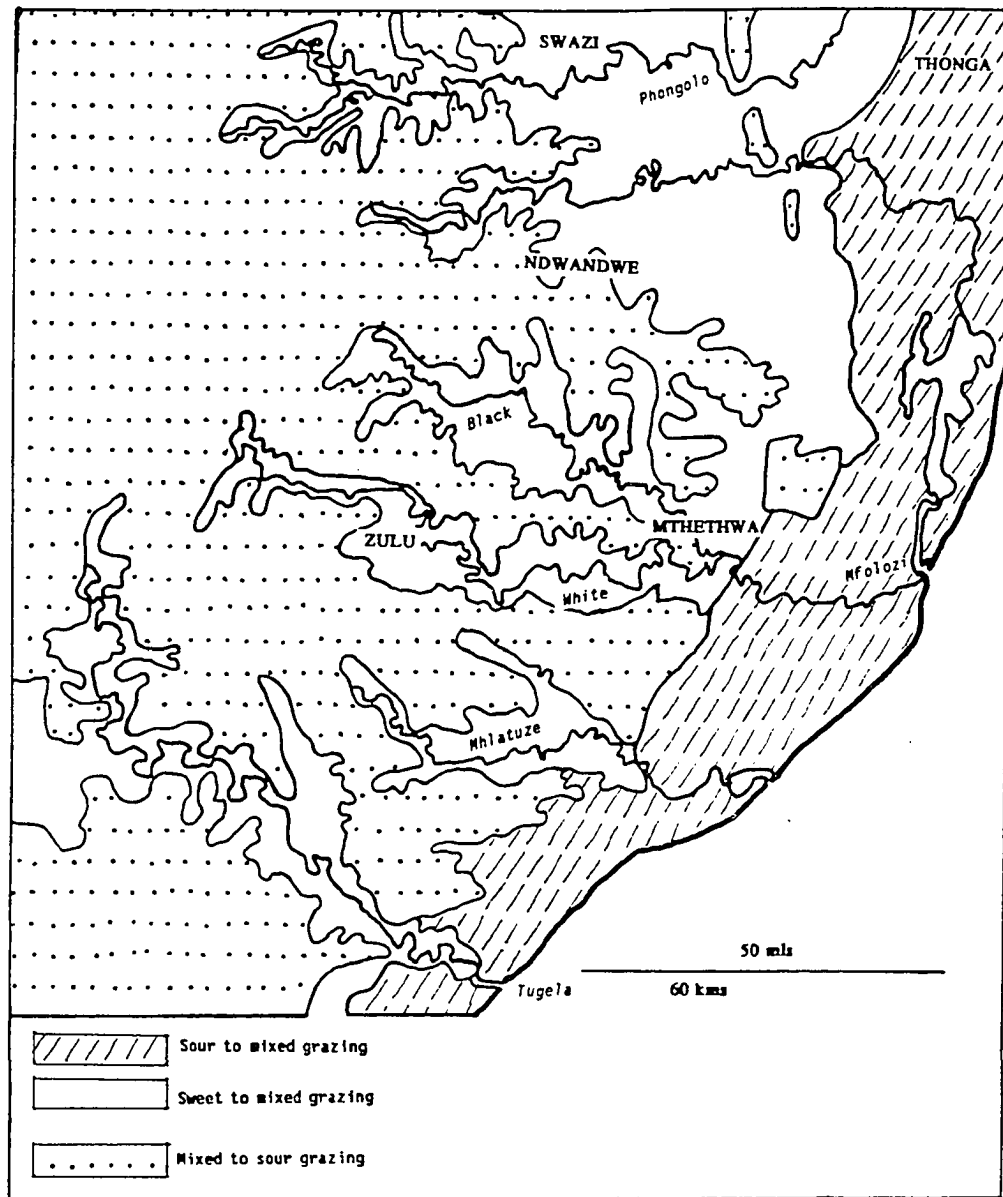


Figure 20 Location of the Zulu, Ndwandwe, and Mthethwa Chiefdoms in Zululand
Source: Guy 1980

Table 8(d)

Summary of Transhumance Migration in Colonial South Africa:
Zululand Locality

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALITY	PRECIP. REGIME	TRANSHUMANCE VARIATIONS	TRANSHUMANCE DICTATED BY:	SETTLEMENT PATTERN
Zululand (North of Tugela River) (Fig.20)	Summer	Moved stock to higher areas of sour to mixed grazing in spring, to mixed grazing as summer advanced and to low-lying sweet to mixed grazing in winter (dry season)	Access to both sweet and sourveld pasturage; malaria in river valleys in summer	Zulu, Ndwandwe, and Mthetwa chiefdoms located so as to have access to sweet and sour veld (with 20 mile radius) (fig.20) Kraals situated along hilltops that intersect the White and Black Mfolozi rivers. Localized drought induces headsmen to move stock longer distances

Source: Gluckman 1947 and Guy 1980:109

high lying sourveld grasses in spring, to mixed grazing as summer advanced, and to low-lying sweetveld in winter.

Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists who migrated from the eastern Cape Colony to Natal were familiar with sweet-sourveld transhumance and they continued this strategy in Natal (Figure 21 [a-c] and Table 8[e]). Weenen County in the interior of Natal offers a case in point. Weenen County provides a quintessential example of a micro-region within the interior of the colony to analyze Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu herding strategies because this was the first part of Natal to be settled by the Dutch-Afrikaner after crossing the Drakensberg mountains in November 1837 (West 1951:7). Although sweet-sourveld migration was the dominant herding strategy used by these pastoralists to gain access to palatable grasses throughout the year, other strategies identified with the East African Cattle Area were used in conjunction with the dominant strategy. In certain instances pastoralists departed from the dominant sweet-sourveld transhumance pattern. A case in point is the Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralist's selection of sites for grazing farms where cattle were able to be grazed throughout the year ie. the need for transhumance was eliminated. An example is the farm Weltevreden in Pietermaritzburg County described by the Natal Land and Colonization Company as lying:

On the east side of a large block of land belonging to the Company, between the Umlazi and Ilovo rivers; on the Wilde Kat Spruit, a stream of tolerable size, and near the good road which runs from Maritzburg, by Stony Hill to the Amanzimtote Station, [Mission] and coast there; the land productive; grows vegetables well; rather heavy; nearly all capable of cultivation, and well watered by constant

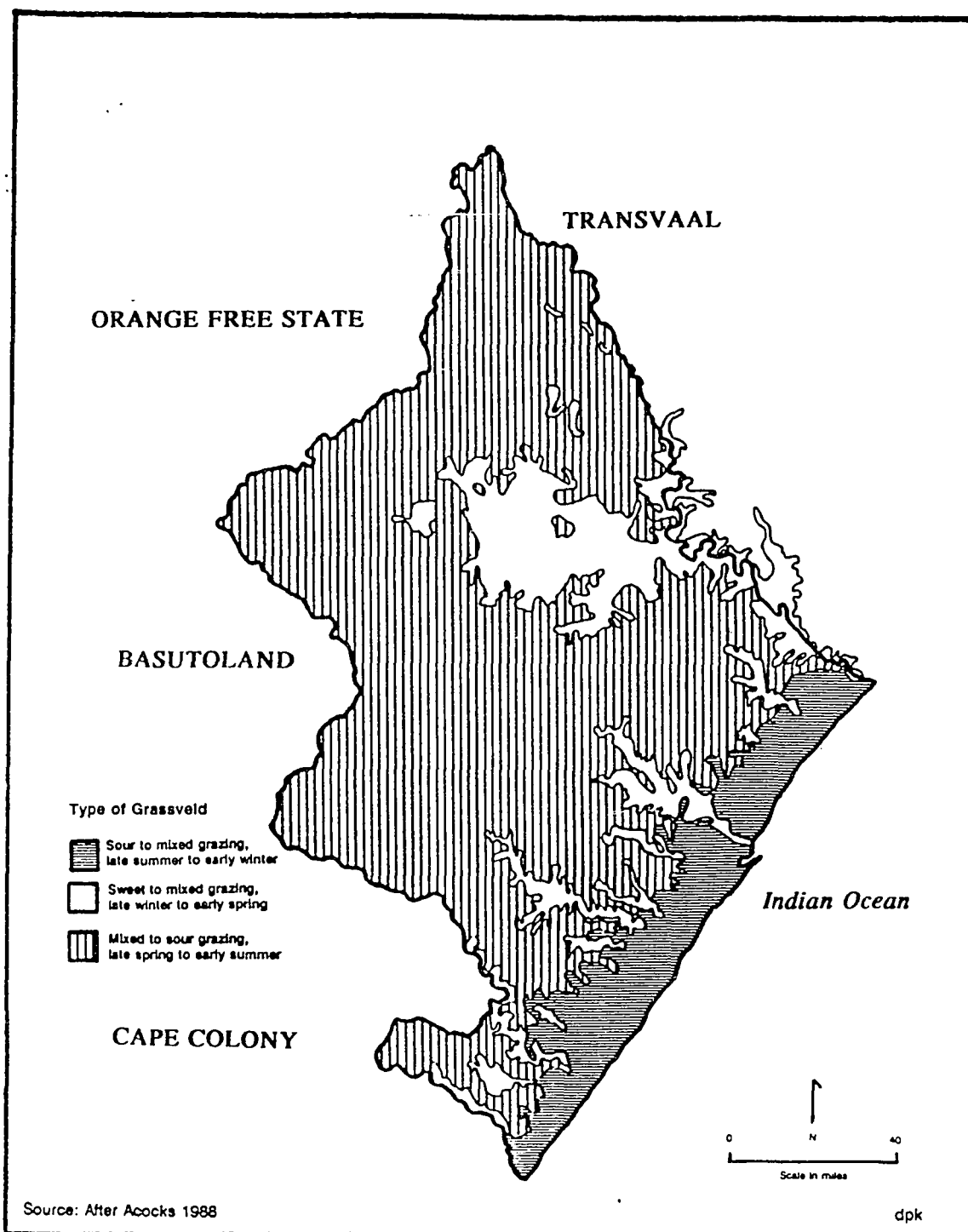


Figure 21(a) Grassveld Types and Seasonal Grazing in Natal
Source: After Acocks 1988

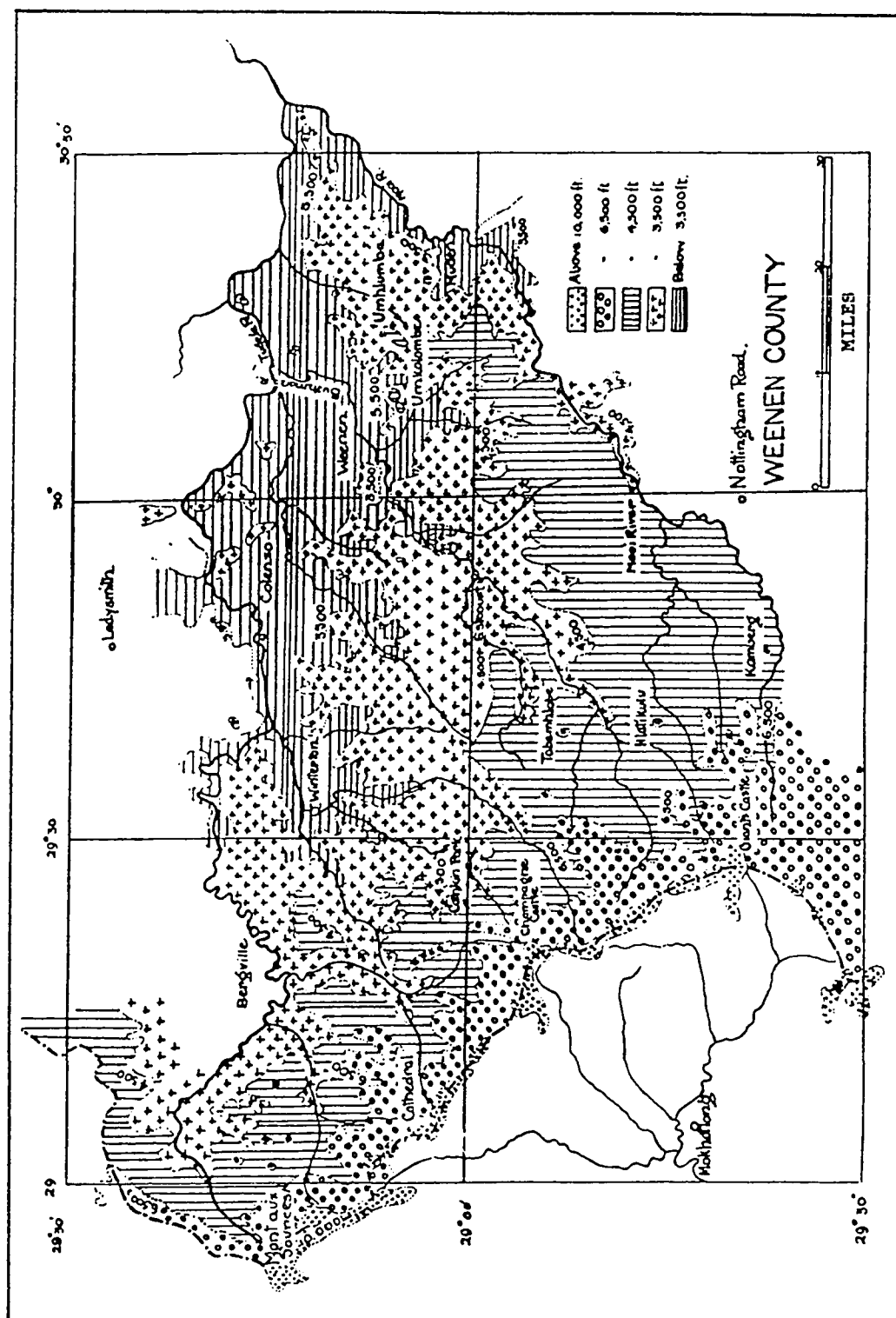


Figure 21(b) Weenen County, Natal: Elevation Map
Source: West 1951

Source: West 1951

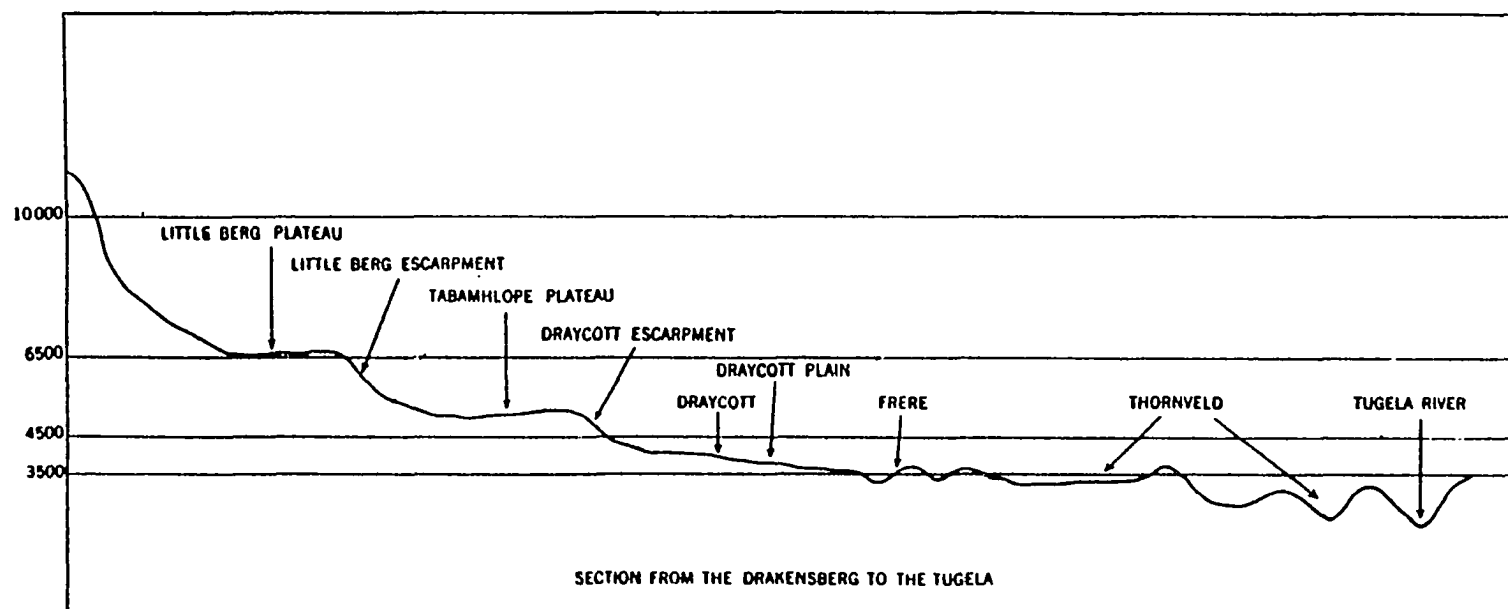


Figure 21(c) A North-East Cross-Section Through Weenen County From the Drakensberg to the Tugela River at the Klip River Passing Through Draycott and Frere.

Source: West 1951

Table 8(e)

Summary of Transhumance Migration in Colonial South Africa:
Natal Locality

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCALITY	PRECIP. REGIME	TRANSHUMANCE VARIATIONS	TRANSHUMANCE DICTATED BY:	SETTLEMENT PATTERN
Colony of Natal between Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers (Fig.21a-c)	Summer	Voortrekker Pastoralists. *Home farm on Drycott Plain (sweetveld) *Sourveld farm on Tabamhlope plateau (summer grazing) *Sweet and sourveld farm (home) *Lending livestock *Sheep moved to highveld (Orange Free State) in summer	Need for sourveld grazing at higher elevations in summer	Home farms at lower elevations i.e. in river valley system. (e.g. Weenen). Temporary farm at higher elevations.
	Summer	Zulu refugees: Selection of rugged terrain; livestock lending; livestock raiding	Transhumance from Tabamhlope Plateau (above 4500 feet) to Drycott Plain (sweet-veld) in Winter. i.e. Need for sweetveld grazing in winter	Kraals situated along hilltops that intersect the Tugela, Little Tugela, and Bushman's Rivers.

Source: Fair 1945:65 and West 1951

streams; bears a high character for both *summer* and *winter* pasture. Sugar has been successfully grown within a few miles²⁸ (N.L. & C.C. 1865:42-43).

In order to determine what grazing strategies Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu pastoralists were utilizing it is instructive to look at the location of their respective settlements within Weenen County (See Figures 21[b] and 22). The Voortrekkers established the dorp of Weenen in the Bushman's River valley at an elevation below 3,500 feet where thornveld vegetation (an indicator of sweetveld grass) provided excellent winter (dry season) grazing (West 1951:13). Weenen was a central place for pastoralists within its hinterland. The focus of Weenen, like all Voortrekker dorpe, was the Dutch Reformed Church located at the end of the dorp's lone street that were lined with erven. Later as the settlement grew, additional long streets and cross streets were added to the dorp. The church was surrounded by the Kerkplein (Church Square) where pastoralists outspanned their ox-wagon four times a year when the quarterly communion services took place. Hence, the dorp's primary function was social. Wagons outspanned on the Kerkplein served as temporary abodes around which social interaction and the exchange of ideas and commodities based on the pastoralists subsistence economic lifestyle took place. In 1855 Bishop Colenso described Weenen as "...a small village lying in the

²⁸ This is a description of a farm purchased from a Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralist by the Natal Land and Colonization Company (they purchased 66 farms in total) after Natal became a British Colony in 1844. Two-thirds of the Voortrekker pastoralists emigrated to the Dutch Republic in the interior of South Africa on the Highveld after the British takeover in Natal. Many pastoralists sold their extensive 3,000 morgen (6,000 acre) to the Company, speculators, or prospective British settlers for very little before emigrating. The farm descriptions were compiled by a local Company official who travelled throughout the colony.

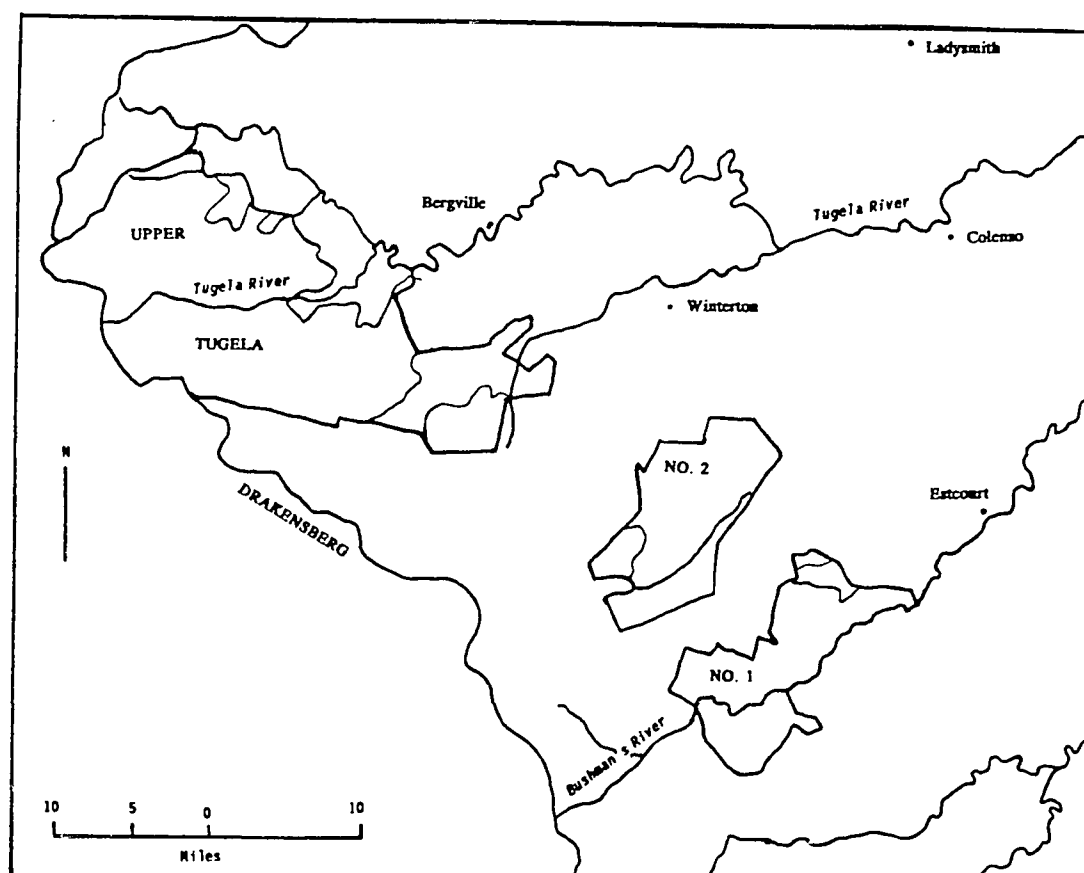


Figure 22 Zulu Locations in Weenen County, Natal
Source: Fair 1945

center of a sort of oven, or rather frying-pan - a valley surrounded by lofty hills on every side - and, therefore, intensely hot (Colenso 1855:117).

Fifty years later Weenen was described as being:

...pleasantly set in a deep, warm, well-wooded hollow... the larger proportion of the inhabitants being the descendants of the early Dutch pioneers. The soil is very prolific, and grain, roots, tobacco, and fruits of good quality are produced in large quantities (Harrison 1903:82).

Although Weenen was located in the river valley system which provided excellent winter sweetveld grazing, the occurrence of malaria in the hot summer months deterred the placement of home-farms at this elevation. Consequently, many of the first Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists located their home farms at a higher elevation (above 3,500 feet) on the Drycott Plain, which is also the most fertile area in Weenen County.

The majority of Zulu pastoralists, by contrast, placed their permanent abodes on the Tabamhlope Plateau at an elevation above 4,500 feet²⁹. Despite the Tabamhlope Plateau's disadvantages of inaccessibility (no well-kept roads) and the poor winter grazing it afforded and the fact that the Drycott Escarpment was impassable during the wet summer months, it provided livestock with good early wet season (summer) grazing.

Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists' access to critical early, nutritious summer sourveld pastures after a long dry season was made difficult because of the poor condition that

²⁹ The establishment of Native Locations took place under the British Colonial Government whose policy was, as far as possible, to leave the Natives undisturbed in their original settlements. Hence, the three Native Locations identified on the Tabamhlope Plateau were the sites chosen by the Zulu pastoralists themselves and may therefore be comprehended as reflecting their perceptions of pasture quality.

spring and summer rains left rudimentary roads in and because the Zulu pastoralists already inhabited these pastures throughout the year ie. their kraals were located on the Tabamhlope Plateau. The Zulu pastoralists faced a similar dilemma during the dry season when winter grazing on the Tabamhlope Plateau was poor. Therefore because of the location of their home-farms and kraals respectively, both Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu pastoralists faced the dilemma of not having access to grazing resources year-round. The Dutch-Afrikaner did not have access to sourveld grass at the onset of the critical wet season whereas the Zulu pastoralists did not have access to sweetveld grasses during the dry season. This necessitated transhumance or an alternative herding strategy on each society's part.

For Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists it was desirable to own three farms-- a home-farm on the fertile Drycott Plain, a sweetveld farm in the river valley system for winter grazing, and a sourveld farm on the Tabamhlope Plateau for summer grazing. This was, however, the ideal; in reality many Voortrekkers had home-farms on the both the Tabamhlope Plateau and in the Thornveld. From descriptions of 48 farms owned by the Natal Land and Colonization Company (N.L.& C.C.) that were suitable for pastoral purposes it is evident that locating a farm in an area suitable for winter grazing was an important Dutch-Afrikaner consideration (See descriptions of the farms Mina and Alma that follow). In the descriptions of nearly half of the farms (21), explicit mention is made of winter grazing and thorn/short veld - all three being indicators of sweetveld grazing resources. From this observation it is obvious that Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists needed to practice summer transhumance migration in order to gain access to sourveld

grazing. Mina: "Adjacent to the town lands of Weenen, and to Alma, No.32; a good thorn farm [my emphasis], and excellent as a winter run for cattle; in general character and situation closely resembles Alma"; Alma: "A well watered and sheltered thorn farm in the close neighborhood of the township of Weenen. The valley of Weenen is justly celebrated for its fertility, and its warm genial climate. The orange ripens perfectly in it, although it is 120 miles inland" (Natal Land and Colonization Company 1865:40). In years of regular (sufficient) rainfall the presence of Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists, especially on the Tabamhlope Plateau, resulted in competition for sourveld grazing with the Zulu pastoralists at the onset of the wet season. Obviously this competition was more pronounced in particularly dry years. An alternative Dutch-Afrikaner strategy would be to select a grazing farm that consisted of both sweet- and sourveld grasses so that seasonal migration would not be necessary. One other herding strategy used by Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists in the northern part of the Colony was to move "the greater part of the sheep of this district [Klip River] ...to the Orange Free State or the Transvaal [onto the Highveld or plateau] in order to avoid the [summer] heat" (Ingram 1895:243).

The Zulu response to their dry season grazing dilemma was twofold. In the first instance, the land on which they decided to locate their kraals was much more rugged than that of their Dutch-Afrikaner rivals (Colenso 1855:104). Colenso in his description of the Native Location occupied by the chief Pakade and his followers near Estcourt notes that it is "...a country extremely picturesque, but, in some parts, exceeding in difficulty any we had before. It would seem almost impossible for a military force to

reach Pakade in such a situation as this" (Colenso 1855:104). Colenso described the Inanda midland location in similar terms:

Passing now along close to the edge of the cliff, we looked down into the Inanda basin, and a more extraordinary sight, surely, never met the eye. We seemed to be standing on the edge of a gigantic crater, perhaps twenty miles or more in diameter, bounded by precipitous heights of 1,000 feet in perpendicular altitude, in which sometimes the bare rock appeared, but generally they were covered with verdure to the very summit, and the kloofs (or hollows) filled with forest trees ...and you obtain some idea of the strange scenery of this part of the Inanda Location (Colenso 1855:247-248)³⁰.

In such rugged settings there was a combination of sweet- and sourveld grasses because of changes in elevation over very short distances (Fair 1945). Hence, Zulu pastoralists had access to both wet and dry season grazing resources.

The characteristic Zulu settlement pattern was a scattering of individual homesteads separated by open tracts of land varying from between a few hundred yards to a mile or two. Generally the kraals were located along hills that were intersected by deep bush-filled valleys. The fields, planted in sorghum and maize for subsistence purposes, were in most cases situated along ridges and the banks of streams. The very low valleys were uninhabited because of the possibility of contracting malaria during the hot

³⁰ It appears that many Zulu pastoralists throughout the colony chose rugged tracts of land to settle upon. In fact, when British Colonial Government Officials asked Zulu refugees requesting Crown land where they would like land to settle they inevitably selected precipitous tracts of land the colonial officials were only too glad to grant them. The British settlers like their Voortrekker predecessors avoided these rugged tracts of land which they regarded worthless for both pastoralism and agriculture. Later in the colonial period, officials and settlers regretted the establishment of Native Locations in these precipitous localities because they provided protection and refuge for those segments of the Zulu refugee population who resisted forced removal to government established locations.

summer months. These valleys were exploited for winter grazing and served as productive hunting grounds (Gluckman 1947:28-29).

In Zulu society the homestead was the smallest social unit and consisted of a nuclear family that inhabited a few kraals. A collection of such homesteads within a specific geographical locality was united under a chief to form a tribe. Each chief in turn was in direct communication with the Zulu King who controlled the lives of individual members of Zulu society via messengers sent from the Royal Kraal (Gluckman 1947:25 and 27). Considerable power was vested in the Zulu King who could demand grains, cattle, and young men. The latter resided at the Royal Kraal and served as warriors gathered from the numerous chief's under the King's control. Furthermore, he was the sole possessor of all the land in Zululand and sent influential blood relatives and brave, powerful warriors (as chiefs) to establish chiefdoms on sparsely populated tracts of land (Gluckman 1947:29)³¹.

In the Colony of Natal, by contrast to Zululand, the local Zulu chief was the most powerful political figure in a tribe because these refugee tribes had no desire to live in Zululand under the despotic rule of the Zulu King. Therefore, in the colony each individual chief controlled the lives of his subjects via tribute and the allocation of land, and therefore of pasture resources, and cattle.

³¹ Zululand refers to all the land north of the Tugela River (marks the boundary with Natal) that is owned and inhabited by the Zulu nation under the Zulu King. Zululand was annexed by the British colonial government in 1887. Consequently the territorial extent of the colony was significantly increased from 11 million acres to approximately 16 million acres.

In traditional Zulu society it has been asserted that only important men and mainly chiefs owned cattle. Such Zulu men often lent livestock to subjects. This was advantageous to important men (mainly autonomous chief's) for two reasons. First, it assured the subjects' allegiance to the chief. In return for herding the chief's livestock, his subjects were entitled to consume milk produced by the cows and eat the meat in the event of livestock deaths (Ibid:45).

Livestock lending was also practiced by trekboers on the eastern Cape frontier. In this case a young trekboer, when making a start, obtained livestock from his wife's friends. The trekboer was entitled to half the annual produce; the other half was returned to the owner as interest for the capital placed in his hands. This strategy, akin to the mafisa (loan) system, was used by Bantu pastoralists on the eastern frontier (Pollock and Agnew 1963:60). This strategy may have been used among the Dutch-Afrikaner in Natal.

Secondly, the Zulu chiefs' practice of lending livestock increased the probability that his livestock would gain access to pasture resources year-round. Therefore, through a combination of scattered settlements, the selection of rugged localities in which to establish their permanent settlements (kraals), and lending strategies, Zulu pastoralists ensured access to grazing resources throughout the year. These Zulu strategies consequently minimized the need for transhumance migration over great distances and encroachment upon Dutch-Afrikaner Thornveld grazing resources at lower elevations were minimized.

Summary

In sum, transhumance migration was the dominant pastoral strategy used by Cape-Dutch grazers in the Cape Colony. In the western part of the Colony, owing to water scarcity and freezing winter temperatures, transhumance consisted of 2 winter and 1 summer regime. The Cape-Dutch pastoralists were following the precedents of trekbokke (wild game) and Khoikhoi grazers. In the eastern part of the Cape Colony, however, the seasonal quality of the grasses necessitated transhumance to sourveld grasses during the wet season when these grasses were palatable and nutritious. The sweet- and sourveld transhumance pattern that crystallized on the eastern frontier was implanted in Natal by the Voortrekker's who emigrated there after 1838. In Weenen County, segments of the populations within Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu societies deployed different grazing and subsistence strategies in order to gain access to year-round resources. Strategies identified with the Zulu include: selection of rugged terrain, livestock lending, and livestock raiding (discussed below). Dutch-Afrikaner strategies included: lending livestock (possibly), transhumance migration to sourveld grasses in the wet season, and the selection of home-farms that consisted of a combination of sweet- and sourveld grasses. The subsistence and settlement pattern associated with both Dutch-Afrikaner and Zulu strategies was one of emphasis on semi-nomadic pastoralism, with cattle-based herding integrated with supplementary crop production carried out at scattered homesteads.

CHAPTER 5

DUTCH-AFRIKANER NATAL: IMPLANTATIONS AND THE CREATION OF PLACE

Introduction

Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists that settled Natal following the Great Trek brought with them ideas pertaining to settlement and society that had crystallized in the Cape Colony over the course of the previous approximately 150-years. The settlement system they created in Natal was a syncretic compromise between European and South African adaptations (see previous chapter). Moreover, the Natal settlement system reflected continuity from the Cape colony antecedents including (1) the extensive open-range farm settlement model; (2) the founding and function of towns (dorpe) including 150 by 450 Rhineland feet erven (urban cadastres); (3) public institutions including the raadzaal-prison complex, the Dutch-Reformed church, outspans, and defense-related institutions particularly the laager; and commercial institutions, namely, the rixdollar (Rds.) currency and Rhineland feet and morgen as units of measure.

These continuities were supplemented, however, by additions and modifications to the settlement system in Natal as well as to institutions that had crystallized in the Cape Colony. The most drastic of these changes involved the implementation of a rudimentary Native policy that consisted of (1) Native Locations, (2) forced Native removal, (3) limits on the number of Native families allowed to reside on burgher farms, and (4) a stringent "pass-law" to restrict Native mobility within the Republic. Other changes included organized Zulu-Boer trade and the issuing of seasonal hunting licenses. Legislating a two-farm ownership policy for burghers, namely a winter and

summer farm to facilitate access to year-round grazing resources, represents a Volksraad modification of Dutch-Afrikaner antecedents in the Cape Colony.

This chapter examines these changes in three parts. The first part presents the Volksraad settlement policy enshrined in the settlement template of extensive open-range farm settlement, the founding and functioning of dorpe (towns) including Pietermaritzburg, Congella, Port Natal (Durban), Weenen, and Potchefstroom, and the establishment of government, public, and commercial institutions associated with the settlement system. The second part focusses on the expansion of Dutch-Afrikaner settlement in Natal, the establishment of four administrative centers, the appointment of civil and legal administrative personnel, and Volksraad control over the timing and location of settlement. Part three deals with the creation of place in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal; dorpe, farms, and the segregated Native policy which characterized place all turned on the centrality of livestock in Dutch-Afrikaner society. But the problems of livestock management were acute. Everyday life was characterized by perennial farm disputes, organized commandos to retrieve livestock stolen by the San, Zulu, and Natal Natives, persistent burgher complaints about unfair division of commando livestock, and framing of legislation that established procedures for the division of commando livestock.

Settlement Template

Extensive Open-Range Farm Settlement Model

In Dutch-Afrikaner Natal, the extensive open-range grazing settlement model, though borrowed from the eastern Cape Colony, was codified and implemented by the Natal

Volksraad. The Volksraad method of farm disposal and demarcation, though it reflected the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Cape Colony's policies (ie. codification) and implementations, presented difficulties. The demarcation (ie. implementation) of these extensive open-range cadastres involved more disputes¹ over who was entitled to farms and how many farms individuals were allowed (ie. codification).

Codification

Formal and informal methods of farm disposal were deployed in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal. The formal method of farm disposal, established by the Volksraad in 1839 and 1840, offered one farm to all 15-year old male inhabitants of the Republic at a perpetual quitrent of 12 rixdollars (Rds.) per annum, provided that they agreed to burgher duties (South African Archival Records, Natal No. 1, 1958:11 hereafter S.A.A.R.). However, later in 1839 the Volksraad guaranteed those Voortrekkers who had been resident in Natal before December 1st, 1839 title to two farms (S.A.A.R.:12). Towards the end of 1839, this inducement was extended to all 17-year old males residing in Natal since December 1, 1838 (S.A.A.R.:21). The allocation of two farms to certain individuals represented a departure from Cape Colony policy in two respects. First, the Natal Volksraad officially sanctioned ownership of two farms in Natal. Although trekboer pastoralists on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Cape frontiers often had a summer and winter farm for their livestock (See sweet-sourveld strategy in chapter 4), ownership and/or loan-farm tenure to two farms was officially sanctioned by neither the

¹ See section three of this chapter for a discussion of farm disputes that resulted from the disorderly demarcation process.

D.E.I.C. (1652-1795), the British (1795-1803, and 1806-1910), or the Batavian (1803-1805) administrations at the Cape.

In Natal, the Volksraad made official policy on landholdings. Members of the Volksraad in Natal, as African-born elected officials, devised a settlement policy that reflected their African experience. Unlike the disinterested policy of the D.E.I.C., British, and Batavian colonial administrations, Volksraad policy reflected Republican ideals. Granting burghers two farms amounted to an adaptive strategy to semi-nomadic open-range pastoralism within the East African Cattle Area. One way of looking at this policy is to see Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists in Natal as one frontier "tribe" amidst the Zulu and other African cattle tenders. This two-farm policy of the Natal Volksraad was extended to burghers residing west of the Drakensberg and centering on the settlements of Potchefstroom and Winburg (S.A.A.R.:70) (Figure 23). Volksraad policy also deviated from colonial policy in the Cape in its hierarchical nature of two-farm ownership. As pioneers who had suffered more than the later arrivals (S.A.A.R.:43), burghers who settled Natal west of the Drakensberg were entitled to two farms. In addition to the formal Volksraad decrees specifying who was entitled to farms, the Volksraad also accepted farm requests² from burghers who resided or planned to reside in Natal. Furthermore, the Volksraad also granted farms to kin of burghers, particularly widows, who requested farms upon the death of a spouse, son, or brother (S.A.A.R.:40); those burghers who had lost property when fighting against the Zulu

² A total of 71 informal requests were put to the Volksraad from 1839 to 1843 (S.A.A.R.).



Figure 23 Dutch-Afrikaner Natal
Source: Unknown

(S.A.A.R.:54); and those burghers who became disabled while serving in combat against the foe, including the Zulu and English (S.A.A.R.:74). The Volksraad also enacted legislation that barred certain people from acquiring farms. Farms were denied those burghers residing in the Republic who refused to defend it when beckoned, who refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the Republic, and past and present officials who handled public money while in office but who omitted to submit financial statements (S.A.A.R.:103, 69, and 151).

The Volksraad were also leery of the districts English-speaking inhabitants, particularly when rumors circled that the British intended to annex the Republic at the beginning of 1841 and 1842. Earlier, in 1840, when the Volksraad decided to dispense of land by lottery in the district of Weenen, the Republic's English-speaking inhabitants (uitlanders or foreigners) were excluded from participation (S.A.A.R.:59). By February 1842 disposal of extensive farms east and west of the Drakensberg had consumed so much land that the Volksraad voted 15:1 to promulgate a law that specified that burghers would only qualify for farms if they had resided in the district for a minimum of six months (S.A.A.R.:142).

Demarcation

The demarcation, inspection, and recording of farms always lagged behind burgher farm selection and occupation as codified by the Volksraad regulations (Christopher 1969a). When farms were demarcated inspectors often had to re-inspect and re-demarcate these cadastres because of neighborly disputes and petitions to the Volksraad. Because of numerous boundary disputes the Volksraad announced in August 1840 that

in future all farms along the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers (Figure 24) must have one side bordering on these rivers if the water supply is inadequate (S.A.A.R.:51). The demarcation of farms in Natal, Potchefstroom, and Winburg was done on horseback according to the "one-hour walking rule" as was customary in the Cape Colony³. One example from the Volksraad records illustrates this. The Natal Volksraad by a majority of votes, permitted Jacob L.C. Erasmus to claim all the land:

...aan de boove zijde van zijn midden punt of aanvraag langs Umgienie [Umgeni river] opwaards volgens de regel een half uer gaans aan hyde zyde der revier (S.A.A.R.:108)⁴.

From the aforementioned it is clear that the government and burghers agreed upon the procedure and manner by which farms were to be demarcated. To be sure, there was no reference to the method by which the 1 hour would be measured. One detects evidence of Volksraad consistency and uniformity in delimiting farms from settlement model decrees issued to the inhabitants of Potchefstroom and Winburg in October 1841 and November 1842 (S.A.A.R.:119 and 166). In correspondence to the former concerning granting land along the Vet and Sand (Zant) rivers (Figure 23), the Natal Volksraad reaffirmed that the borders of the district were to be inhabited by cattle raisers (vee vokkers). Moreover, the Volksraad agreed with the Adjunct Council at

³ The one-hour rule designates the length of each farm's four outer boundaries. Farm delimitation would commence from a central point, usually where the homestead was located, for a half-hour on horseback in the four principal directions. Hence, ideally each farm's boundary would be delimited by an hour's ride on horseback.

⁴ "...to claim all the land commencing from the middle of his farm, situated next to the Umgeni river, according to the half hour rule on each side of the rivers banks. ie. a one-hour boundary along the Tugela river."

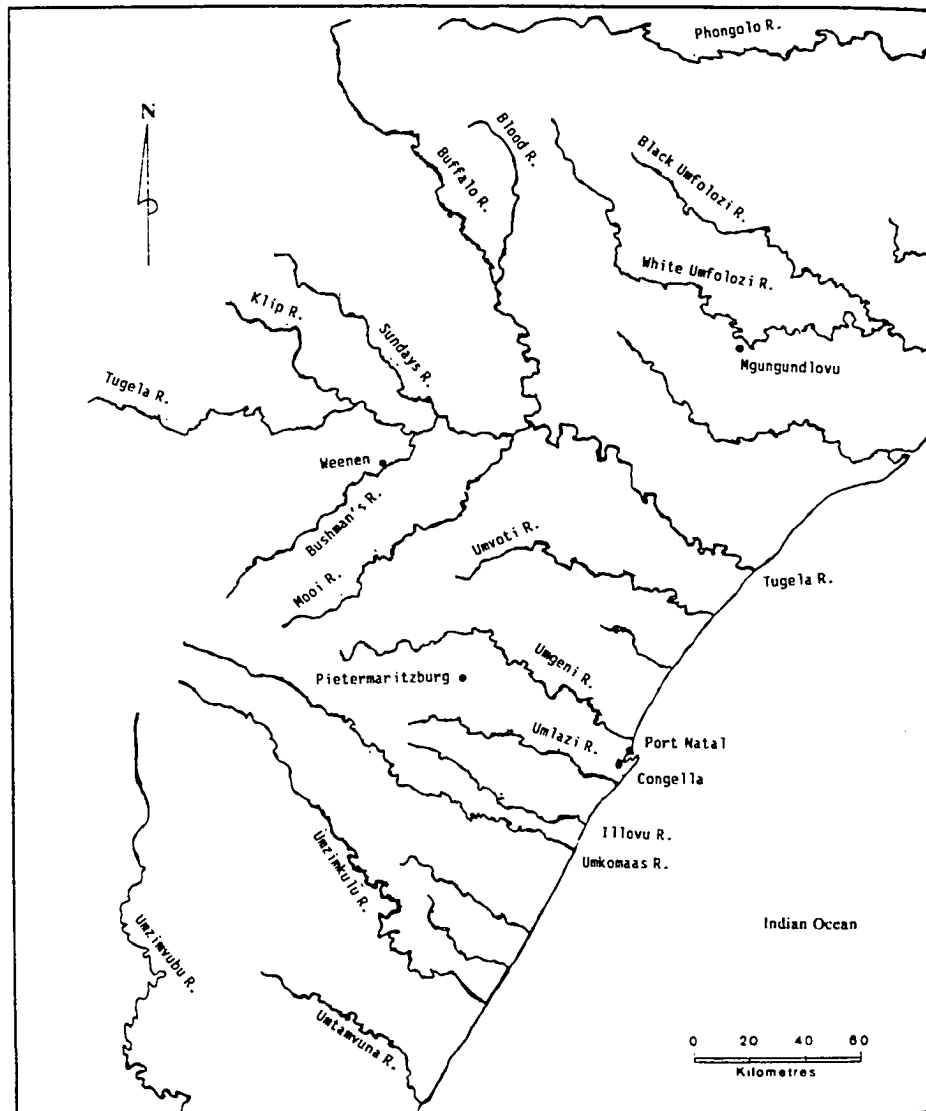


Figure 24 Dutch-Afrikaner Natal: East of the Drakensberg
Source: After Lambert 1989

Potchefstroom that farms would be inspected and delimited in a square with reference to the half-hour rule (een halfuer). In their 1842 correspondence to the Winburg burghers⁵ the Volksraad reaffirmed their half-hour (half uur) farm delimitation specification, but also mentioned that the earliest farm delimitations would be honored should conflicts arise over farm surveys with newly arrived neighbors. The most recent arrivals would be granted the remainder of their land elsewhere, hence farms would not be contiguous. Such a fluid method of farm delimitation obviously led to numerous boundary disputes and adjustments to previously inspected and inhabited farms. Adjustments to farm boundaries were made by moving the farm center (middelpunt) a certain number of feet (treeden) or a certain number of minutes (meneuten) from its original location (S.A.A.R.:46, 109 and 116). Hereafter the half-hour rule was used to determine the new boundaries.

Founding and Function of Dorpe

Pietermaritzburg, Congella, Weenen, and Port Natal (also referred to as Durban) were the only dorpe established in Voortrekker Natal and were all, save for Durban, previously laager sites (Haswell 1980) (Figure 17). Pietermaritzburg was the first dorp, laid out in October 1838 by Greyling; by March of 1839, 300 erven⁶ had been granted, surveyed, and partly cultivated (Ibid:26). Pietermaritzburg was the Republic's administrative, economic, and social capital. The Natal Volksraad met here in the

⁵ See the Administrative Centers section for details on the formation and function of the Adjunct Council (Raad).

⁶ A discussion of erven (town lots) follows in the next section.

meeting house (Raadzaal) each month to frame legislation, consider burgher petitions, and ensure the safety and smooth-functioning of the Republic (S.A.A.R.:133). A prison, built by money donated by the dorp's inhabitants, housed cattle thieves and other transgressors of the law (S.A.A.R.:20, 29, and 103). To ensure the safety of the capital and the Republic's inhabitants, an ammunition storage facility (kruidhuis) was constructed and a defensive wall (schans) erected around the church (S.A.A.R.:29 and 92). The town also served economic functions. The revenue derived from farm and erven sales as well as from fines and taxes levied in the other dorpe were forwarded by the landdrosts to the secretary of the Volksraad in Pietermaritzburg. These monies were entrusted to the Republic's general coffer and paid official salaries, funded Volksraad expeditions, and reimbursed burghers for personal losses incurred during combat. Pietermaritzburg was also a commercial hub since the market attracted burghers from midland, coastal, and interior Natal to trade their wares (S.A.A.R.:160). The social and economic functions of the town fused during the quarterly communion service (nagtmal) as burghers converged on Pietermaritzburg for renewal coupled with social and commercial interaction.

Congella was platted sometime in 1839 and is probably the new town that fifty-eight burghers petitioned the Volksraad to establish on September 6, 1839 (S.A.A.R.:15). The following month one Van Breda was granted an erf and on November 8, 1839 the Volksraad decreed that inhabited or cultivated erven at Congella would be sold for less than newly acquired erven (S.A.A.R.:19 and 21). A raadzaal and prison were added to Congella the following January when the Volksraad approved the recommendation

that a house be purchased and converted to serve the dual purpose of raadzaal and prison for the Congella inhabitants (S.A.A.R.:27). Although further growth of the town was stifled after Durban was platted a few kilometers away during 1840, Congella remained a functioning dorp (Haswell 1980:28). In April 1842, J.A. Smellekamp a Dutch merchant inquired about obtaining land at Congella and was granted two parcels of land, one urban, the other agricultural (S.A.A.R.:148, 149, and 152). The growing importance of Durban over Congella as an administrative dorp is reflected in petitions for erven at Congella been referred to the Port Natal landdrost for approval (S.A.A.R.:146).

The dorp of Durban or Port Natal was laid out by G.C. Cato, a British trader, at the request of the Volksraad (Haswell 1980:28). Unlike Pietermaritzburg, Congella and Weenen, Durban's founding date is unknown. The minutes of the Volksraad meetings indicate that the town was platted sometime between April and November 1840. In April 1840 it was announced that 50 to 60 erven would be sold publicly and in November the inhabitants of Durban petitioned that water be channeled from the Umgeni river to irrigate erven in "de Nieuw aangelegde stad aldaar"⁷ (S.A.A.R.:44 and 69). After its founding, the commercial and defensive function of Durban increased, particularly during times when the British threatened to occupy the Port and annex the Republic. In October 1841, seizing the opportunity of raising revenue from the harbor for the ailing general coffer the Volksraad levied import taxes on flour and salt (3%) as well as wood and manufactured wood products (25%) (S.A.A.R.:114). In addition

⁷ "the newly established town there."

to these import taxes, the harbor master later that month recommended that all anchoring ships pay 3 pence per ton and that he be empowered to charge 3 pence per letter arriving by ship (S.A.A.R.:117).

Weenen owes its founding to the request by P. Coetzee and others who on April 2, 1840 petitioned the Volksraad that a dorp be laid out "aan de Bosjesmans Revier"(S.A.A.R.:40)⁸. In June, a five person commission was appointed to inspect the dorps prospective site and prepare a plan for Weenen (S.A.A.R.:45). This culminated in the delimitation and christening of Weenen as well as the appointment of officials, including a landdrost (judge), six heemraden (rural law-officers), and a fieldcornet (ward-level civil official) on August 13, 1840 (S.A.A.R.:57-58)⁹. In April of the following year regulations for the disposal of erven, including their measurement and survey were promulgated (S.A.A.R.:87). Erven continued to be granted to burghers throughout the Voortrekker period in Natal. However, only those burghers who were resident in Natal before December 1838 and burghers that had worked on the road and water-course were entitled to erven and these were disposed of by lottery (S.A.A.R.:120, 126 and 152). Burghers residing in Weenen's hinterland, particularly those adjacent to the Drakensberg, were often attacked by San hunter-gatherers throughout the study period. The administrative, social, and economic links between isolated and forlorn Weenen and Pietermaritzburg were very weak. In fact,

⁸ "on the Bushman's River."

⁹ See Administrative Personnel section for a discussion on the function and number of officials in each of the administrative districts.

correspondence was more frequent between the Volksraad at Pietermaritzburg and the Adjunct Council west of the Berg (Potchefstroom) than between Weenen and the capital, even though Potchefstroom was further afield, deep in the South African interior.

Dorp Erven: 150 by 450 Rhineland Feet

The size of erven in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal dorps is an indicator of the diffusion of an institution from the eastern Cape Colony, particularly from Grahamstown, to Natal following the Great Trek (Figure 17). All dorp erven in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal, with the exception of erven at Port Natal, measured 150 by 450 Rhineland feet. According to the Rhineland system, 1 rood was equal to 12 Rhineland feet (Haswell 1980:31). Hence, Natal erven of 150 by 450 Rhineland feet were equal to 12.5 by 37.5 roods. The Natal Voortrekkers hailed from Grahamstown where erven measured 150 by 450 Rhineland feet; this erf size was subsequently used when laying out Natal dorpe including those west of the Drakensberg. In the remainder of the eastern Cape Colony dorpe including Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage, erven were exactly one morgen in extent, that is, 15 by 40 Rhineland roods or 180 by 480 Rhineland feet (Ibid:24). Voortrekkers hailing from these dorpe in the eastern Cape settled on the South African highveld and their influence on settlement morphology was reflected in dorpe with erven sizes slightly larger than those in Grahamstown and the Republic of Natalia.

In the records of the Natal Volksraad erven sizes are referred to in either Rhineland feet (voeten) or paces (treeden)¹⁰. The latter term referred to the practice of

¹⁰ One pace (treeden) was equal to approximately 3 Rhineland feet. Hence when referring to the extent of Natal erven, the Volksraad used 150 by 450 voeten (meaning Rhineland feet) and 50 by 150 treeden (paces) interchangeably.

determining erven sizes by physically pacing the length and width of these urban cadastres. In October 1839 burghers Micl. van Breda and Servaas van Breda petitioned the Volksraad to grant them one erf each measuring "150 treeden lang en vyftig treeden breed"¹¹ at Congella (S.A.A.R.:19). Approximately one year later, in January 1842, burgher Frans Roos Sr. was granted a 150 by 450 Rhineland feet erf that he occupied at Congella for Rds. 125 (S.A.A.R.:136). Finally, on the eve of British annexation of Natal widow Stadelaar requested the title deeds to her late husbands Congella erf that measured 150 by 450 Rhineland feet (S.A.A.R.:164). At Congella there do, however, appear to have been deviations from the 150 by 450 Rhineland feet erf size. In November 1839 the Volksraad announced that "...erven zal verkogt worden aan de Congella van 50 treeden in het vierkant of 150 voeten..."¹² (S.A.A.R.:21). Moreover, burghers were granted one-year to pay for purchased erven and erven adjacent to cultivated erven would be sold to those burghers for half the regular price¹³. In addition, the Volksraad responded to Dutch merchant J.A. Smellekamp's April 1843 request for land at Congella by granting him a parcel of land 300 by 450 Rhineland feet for the construction of a storage facility associated with his trading endeavors (S.A.A.R.:148-149).

In the minutes of the Volksraad meetings there were fewer references to specific erf sizes in the other Natal dorpe. The Pietermaritzburg landdrost informed the Volksraad

¹¹ "150 paces long and fifty paces wide."

¹² "...erven measuring 50 paces square or 150 Rhineland feet (square) would be sold at Congella..."

¹³ The price was not specified in the minutes of the Volksraad meetings.

in February 1842, with no reference to erf size, that "...alle de Erfen te Pietr. Ms. Burg volgens Rheinlands maat te groot is..."¹⁴ (S.A.A.R.:142). The landdrosts of Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Port Natal were subsequently instructed to ensure that markers be erected so that erf sizes conformed with Volksraad regulations. In Weenen there were numerous references to erven but no details about the extent of individual erven (S.A.A.R.:45, 87, 120, 152, and 174). Although, as in the case of Congella, urban cadastres exceeding the standard erf size were sold. In October 1841 the sale of land measuring 48 by 450 Rhineland feet adjacent to a Weenen erf was declared legal by the Volksraad (S.A.A.R.:121). The 150 by 450 Rhineland feet erf size specification was also duplicated west of the Drakensberg. In February 1842 the Volksraad appointed the Natal official Johannis Bodenstein as commissioner to oversee the lay-out of the dorp, probably Rustenburg, on the Elands River (Figure 23). Bodenstein was instructed to ensure that erven measured 150 by 450 Rheinland feet, were disposed of for Rds. 50 each, and that they were cultivated within six months of occupation (S.A.A.R.:141).

In terms of Dutch-Afrikaner dorpe, Port Natal was an aberration. As mentioned previously, the British trader G.C. Cato was responsible for the lay-out of Port Natal. Two erf sizes were identified, namely, beach erven measuring 100 by 500 to 700 English feet and smaller dry erven that were supposed to measure 100 by 150 Rhineland feet or 103 by 154.5 English feet¹⁵. The surveyors, Messrs. Cloete and Piers,

¹⁴ "...according to Rhineland measure, all Pietermaritzburg erven are too big.."

¹⁵ There were approximately 0.97 English feet to one Rhineland foot.

however, accepted 103 English feet (100 Rhineland feet) as the width of Port Natal erven but set their length at 150 English feet following the first English survey of the dorp in 1845 (Haswell 1980:28-29). Early Durban was therefore, as Haswell has noted, "...a blend of Dutch and English townscape preferences, and this example [erven sizes] of intercultural borrowing suggests that wherever these two culture groups came into contact in the making of towns, such borrowing produced truly South African places" (Ibid:29).

Government, Public and Commercial Institutions

Government Institutions

When discussing government institutions I distinguish between the Volksraad, responsible for the day to day running of the colony, and the general coffer, which provided money for the administration of the Republic. The Secretary of the Volksraad was responsible for collecting and dispensing of money in the general coffer. The Volksraad regulated commercial enterprises and the daily lives of its citizens through laws which if transgressed resulted in a plethora of fines. The money collected from these fines coupled with numerous taxes, import duties, and revenue collected from the sale of commando cattle went to the general coffer. The Volksraad used these monies to fund the administration of the Republic.

Volksraad

The first Voortrekker Volksraad was established on December 2nd 1836 at Thaba Nchu (Figure 23). Numerous Voortrekker parties converged on Thaba Nchu, west of the Drakensberg, following migration from the eastern Cape on route to Natal and the

South African interior. On April 17th 1837 Piet Retief was elected Governor (Gouverneur) and chief leader (Opperhoofd) of the first Volksraad. Although records for Voortrekker Natal are incomplete, it is likely that the 24-member Natal Volksraad was established sometime following the massacre of Retief and seventy burghers on February 17th 1838 at Mgungundlovu and before March 28, 1838 (S.A.A.R.:xlili-xliv). Erasmus Smit the Voortrekker minister (dominee) first mentions this 24-member Volksraad on June 12, 1838 and the South African (Zuid-Afrikaan) newspaper published the Natal Volksraads constitution entitled: *Regulationen en Instructien, voor den Raad van Representanten Van het Volk, aan Port Natal en omliggende Land*¹⁶ on June 21, 1839 (Ibid:xliv). Those inhabitants referred to in the constitution as resident in the "omliggende land" included Voortrekkers living west of the Drakensberg around the towns of Potchefstroom and Winburg near the Mooi and Vet rivers, respectively, who had a semi-permanent alliance with the Natal Volksraad. Hence, Dutch-Afrikaner Natal straddled the Drakensberg Mountains including parts of present-day Transvaal and Orange Free State provinces. As mentioned previously, settlement policy "agter de Berg" including town planning and disposal and delimitation of pastoral farms was based on the Natal Volksraad's model¹⁷.

The Volksraad's objective was to ensure the smooth-functioning of Voortrekker Natal through promulgating laws and framing legislation after consideration of burgher

¹⁶ Regulations and Instructions, for the Committee of Representatives for the Nation, resident at Port Natal and the surrounding territory.

¹⁷ In minutes of the Natal Volksraad meetings the area west of the Drakensberg was referred to as "agter de Berg"; literally the area "behind the Mountain."

petitions at Volksraad meetings held once a month (S.A.A.R.:31 and 90). Although the Raad was supposed to convene in Pietermaritzburg each month, meetings were irregular and could last from one day to an entire week. Meetings were held more frequently and for longer duration when rumor had it that either the English or Zulu intended invading Natal. The discussion at these meetings was dominated by military considerations including devising counter-attacks and deciding where defensive structures should be constructed throughout Natal. Volksraad members communicated these decisions to burghers throughout the colony via the landdrosts of Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, Congella, and Port Natal as well as the Potchefstroom landdrost west of the Drakensberg. These and other administrative decisions were communicated to the inhabitants via the hierarchical structured administrative personnel system including field-cornets, heemraaden, and commandants.

To complement the full 24-member Volksraad, the Volksraad decided on February 25, 1842 that a 5-member Commission Council (Commissie Raad) would be elected from among existing Volksraad members. The Commission Council was instructed to meet on the first Monday of each month to address pressing public concerns and petitions. Although it met in tandem with the Volksraad until the conclusion of the Dutch-Afrikaner period under study, the Commission Council was subordinate to the Volksraad and could not rule without the approval of the full raad (S.A.A.R.:145). Members of the Volksraad were elected annually by popular vote (S.A.A.R.:43, 57, 121, 123, and 165-166), had to be members of the Dutch Reformed (Gerevormeerde) Church (S.A.A.R.:22), and could not serve simultaneously as a Raad member and

Landdrost (S.A.A.R.:122). Moreover, in June and August of 1840 the Volksraad issued decrees that specified conditions determining burgher eligibility for election to the Volksraad as well as certain restrictions on the electorate (S.A.A.R.:43 and 57). Candidacy to the Volksraad was contingent upon fulfilling two requirements: (1) ownership of immovable property and (2) at least three years residence in Natal. Similarly only those burghers who had resided in Natal for at least one year and were 21 years of age were eligible to vote.

General Coffer: Income and Expenditure

Money in the general coffer (*algemene kas*) was used by the Volksraad to fund the Republic's administration including payment of salaried officials and the construction of defensive structures and government buildings. Money was generated for the general coffer through levying a variety of taxes, fines, and import duties. The Volksraad also accepted livestock in lieu of money for payment of fines and often raised money for the ailing coffer through the sale of livestock captured on commando against the Zulu or indigenous Natal natives. Furthermore, the raad controlled the Republic's "economy", particularly when waging war against the English, through price controls. In addition to the payment of Rds. 3 per diem for each member attending a Volksraad meeting (S.A.A.R.:31) and the monthly payment of landdrost, fieldcornet, heemraad, and commandant salaries, the raad was continually petitioned to reimburse burghers for services performed in behalf of the Volksraad. The latter included payments to interpreters, to those who went on Volksraad expeditions to the Zulu King Panda, to burghers for losses incurred while on government commandos or for horses loaned to

the government, and to citizens for food, ammunition, and other goods delivered to the harbor at Port Natal.

The general coffer was particularly low between October 1842 and August 1843 because of defense-related expenditure in anticipation of the impending English occupation of the harbor. Indeed, the raad had to delay payment of compensation to widows, disabled soldiers, and burghers who provided assistance to the government militia during previous wars (S.A.A.R.:162 and 164). In October 1842 and March 1843, the Natal Volksraad petitioned burghers west of the Berg to contribute to the ailing Natal coffer (S.A.A.R.:164-165 and 173). The Republic's fiscal dilemma was so acute by the latter date that the Natal raad wrote landdrosts west of the Berg asking them to arrange public meetings for collection of money or cattle donations for the Natal coffer. Furthermore, in the Pietermaritzburg erven, the post of water tender (water opziender) was abolished in February 1843 and J. Zietsman, the newly appointed Pietermaritzburg Landdrost, was informed that his annual salary of 100 pounds sterling would only be paid if the state of the general coffer improved (S.A.A.R.:172 and 173).

Despite the Volksraad's financial dilemma during the latter part of the Republic's life, the government generally ensured that income exceeded expenditure through taxes, import duties, and especially fines. I have previously referred to import taxes levied on flour, salt, tobacco, wood, and manufactured wood products as well as taxes on anchoring ships and letters arriving by ship. Additional taxes were levied on foreign vendor's wagons, on alcohol stored in the pakhuis (storage house) at Port Natal, and on the inhabitants of Weenen who were charged Rds. 3 per erf per annum for the

maintenance of the Weenen watercourse that irrigated their agricultural cadastres (S.A.A.R.:22, 58, and 174-175). The Volksraad strongly opposed the unchecked importation of wine and brandy as well as the production of these strong spirits (*sterke drank*) within the Republic. To be sure, in August 1841 Mr. Swiekard's petition requesting permission to construct a brandy distillery at Congella was rejected (S.A.A.R.:110). Furthermore, and when wine and brandy were imported, heavy import duties were imposed as early as 1840. An August 1840 petition by 607 burghers seeking to relax or rescind these duties failed (S.A.A.R.:53). The raad reaffirmed that an import duty of Rds. 10 per halfaam of wine and Rds. 2 per gallon of brandy was still in force. Even as late as April 1842 when the Volksraad granted Amsterdam merchants Klein and Company trade monopoly, they singled out brandy and wine as subject to import duties (S.A.A.R.:149). Moreover, burghers illegally importing strong alcohol and vendors disposing of it without the necessary license would be fined Rds. 500 and between Rds. 50 to 200, respectively (S.A.A.R.:53 and 85).

Fines were the largest contributor to the Republic's general coffer, however (Table 9). Fines imposed ranged from Rds. 1000 for burghers who transgressed Government established price controls during war and speculation in property to 1 schelling per cow against owners of stray cattle destroying gardens (S.A.A.R.:156, 72, and 94). During conflict with the British in June and November 1842, the Volksraad prescribed prices for services and retailers. The miller had to grind corn (*mielies*) for the government at Rds. 1 per muid; 1 muid of oats cost Rds. 6 and Rds. 12 in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, respectively; 1 bag of salt cost Rds. 10 in Durban; and 1 bag of flour

Table 9

Number, Types and Value of Fines Levied by the Natal Volksraad

NO.	TYPE	VALUE
1	Trading firearms with Natives	none given
2	Employing Natives without a pass	Rd 500
3	Engaged in trading young Natives within & beyond Natal	Rd 500
4	Lie about a polygamous marriage	Rd 200
5	Deliberately deceive a marriage commissioner	Rd 100
6	Refuse to swear allegiance to the Republic	Rd 25
7	Refuse to serve in the Republic's military	Rd 25 - 500
8	Insult a Volksraad Official	Rd 100 - 500
9	Heemraaden not attending sufficient meetings	Rd 10
10	Landdrost absent from court	Rd 25
11	Misconduct of Government Officials	Rd 5 - 25
12	If harbor master does not send incoming mail to Landdrosts	Rd 25
13	If harbor master allows ships to anchor	Rd 100
14	Government officials fail to submit Quartely financial reports	Rd 100
15	Unathorized use of Government propety at the harbor	Rd 500
16	Anyone going on-board ships before harbor master	Rd 1500
17	Stray cattle destroying gardens (per cow)	1 Schell
18	If change wards without informing a Field cornet	Rd 5
19	Trade or sell rights to property you do not own	Rd 1000
20	Fail to submit hunting trip reports within 14 days of return	Rd 500
21	If Government established Price controls are transgressed	Rd 500 - 1000
22	Illegal Importation of strong alchol	Rd 500
23	Sell brandy or wine without a license	Rd 50 - 200

Source: Compiled from Notule of Natalse Volksraad (S.A.A.R)

cost Rds. 18 throughout the Republic (S.A.A.R.:156 and 166). The 23 different types of fines levied by the Volksraad may be divided into 5 categories, namely, (1) outlawed Native-related activity (1-5); (2) burghers failing to swear allegiance to the Republic (6-8); (3) government officials (9-14); (4) the Republic's citizens (15-21); and (5) trading or producing strong alcohol (21-23). The Volksraad levied fines for two reasons: first to finance the administration of the colony, and second to govern and maintain the allegiance of its citizens through autocratic, fearful authority. In short, the Volksraad kept a watchful eye over its citizens demanding allegiance through fines, taxes, and import duties enforced by landdrosts, fieldcornets, and heemraaden as arms of the government.

Public Institutions

Six public institutions are identified in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal: (1) outspans; (2) communication infrastructure including roads and bridges; (3) hunting licenses; (4) laagers, ammunition houses (kruidhuis), and defensive trenches¹⁸ (schansen) associated with defending the Republic; (5) prisons; and (6) the Dutch Reformed Church.

Outspans

On April 2nd 1840 the Volksraad was requested to authorize government inspectors to set aside 1000 morgen areas for "de publieke weegen uitspanningen¹⁹" along public

¹⁸ Schansen were made from stones, earth, and thorn-bushes (Pettman 1913:427 and Branford 1987:309-310). Pettman notes that the Basuto used this defensive structure in defending themselves against colonial forces in 1880 while Branford notes that schansen provided protection to burghers while waging war during the Anglo-Boer conflict at the turn of the century.

¹⁹ "public wagon outspanning".

roads (S.A.A.R.:40). Zoning of outspans²⁰ along roads where travellers could break an ox-wagon journey to rest and pasture oxen was practiced in the eastern Cape Colony and subsequently implanted in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal. In Natal the Volksraad was adamant that once such tracts of land were set aside for public outspanning they would be retained for such purposes. Hence, requests to the Volksraad by burghers P.L. Moolman, A.J.J. Botes and seven others, as well as L.J. Erasmus for farms that included reserved outspan land along the Sand (Zand) River were rejected (S.A.A.R.:130, 133, and 157). In other cases, burghers volunteered parts of their extensive pastoral cadastres for public outspanning. It does appear, however, that travelling burghers often abused this privilege. In the latter part of the Republic's life, E.F. Potgieter and J.S. Maritz petitioned the Volksraad to decree that only certain parts of their farms Uitkomst and near the drift of the Umgeni River, respectively, be set aside for outspanning (S.A.A.R.:163). In Dutch-Afrikaner Natal the outspan became part of a settlement system dominated by open-range pastoralism and scattered urban places linked together by rudimentary roads where the primary mode of transportation was by ox-wagon.

Infrastructure

Wagon roads in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal were rudimentary. Besides the frequently travelled road between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the Volksraad was not active in proposing and actually constructing roads to link settlements within Natal and between

²⁰ See Chapter 7 for a discussion on the persistence of Dutch-Afrikaner institutions in British Natal including outspans and laagers.

Natal and adjacent territories. In April 1842, the Volksraad delegated the responsibility of road improvement and construction to landdrosts in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Congella, and Weenen (S.A.A.R.:91). Moreover, landdrosts were informed that money for such purposes should come from public contributions rather than from the general coffer. Prior to this 1842 decision, bush-paths were constructed on the initiative of individual burghers though not free of charge. In August 1840 H.N. Fourie asked the Volksraad to reimburse (Rds. 540) him for costs incurred in constructing bush-paths at Port Natal; half in cattle, the other half in cash (S.A.A.R.:52). These bush-paths were kept clean and tidy by coercing kaffers (Natives) to labor. The road leading to Weenen was constructed and maintained by burghers who were promised *erven* if they assisted in constructing the road and water-course that brought water from the Bushmen's River to their agricultural cadastres (S.A.A.R.:126).

Hunting Licenses

Hunting for game during the dry winter months (June to August) was an integral part of Dutch-Afrikaner culture that was dominated by open-range, semi-nomadic pastoralism. The preparation and consumption of biltong went hand-in-hand with winter hunting. Hunting was inextricably tied to the cyclical movement of cattle from *sourveld* grazing resources (on the uplands) during the wet season to *sweetveld* pasture in the river valleys during the dry season. Hunting took place in winter when pastoralists moved their herds from the uplands to river valleys now free of malaria that threatened them and their livestock during the wet, humid summer months (December to February). It was not uncommon for pastoralists to cross the Tugela river (border

separating Natal and Zululand) for the winter hunt. The Volksraad was, however, reluctant to allow undocumented seasonal movement of burghers across the Tugela or the movement of English or Zulu hunters south into Natal. Therefore in June 1841, the Volksraad promulgated six hunting regulations to control and document the seasonal movement of burgher hunters into Zululand. In short, these regulations dictated that hunting expeditions, consisting of no less than five members, had to be sanctioned by both the Commandant-General and the local district landdrost. Furthermore, the party had to specify the destination of the hunt, and the distance and course that was to be followed after crossing the Tugela river. When the party returned to Natal, they were not allowed to have either Zulu children or cattle in their possession and the head of the party had to submit a written report detailing the hunt. Failure to do so would result in a Rds. 500 fine or 6 months in prison (S.A.A.R.:97). Finally in October 1841, the Volksraad empowered the Commandant-General to suspend hunting across the Tugela River for as long as he saw fit (S.A.A.R.:113).

Defense: Laager, Kruidhuis, and Schans

Defending the Republic against persistent threats of English invasion resulted in an increase in defense-related correspondence during 1841 and 1842 and the concomitant construction or improvement of defensive structures including laagers, an ammunition storage house (kruidhuis) at Port Natal, and numerous defensive shields (schansen). Laagers were permanent or semi-permanent circular-shaped structures that afforded protection to burgher women, children, and cattle during armed conflicts. When ox-wagons were arranged to form a laager, they could be used as a base as was done

during the Battle of Blood River where the Voortrekkers defeated the Zulu warriors. As mentioned previously, Pietermaritzburg, Congella, and Weenen served as laager sites before dorps were delimited, constructed, and occupied between 1838 and 1840. There is reference to the Weenen and Congella laagers as well as to battery construction at Durban in January 1841 (S.A.A.R.:87 and 78). In fact on June 17, 1841, the Volksraad met at the Congella laager to discuss defensive strategy (S.A.A.R.:155). In addition to laagers located close to the dorpe, individual burghers often constructed laagers on their isolated farmsteads where they sought refuge when Zulu and/or San invaders attacked their property and pilfered cattle. The Volksraad encouraged private laager construction and considered cattle theft and laager destruction as equally severe crimes perpetrated against burghers and hence the Republic (S.A.A.R.:101). At the Volksraad meeting at the Congella laager, the raad offered to compensate burghers whose private laagers had been destroyed by the enemy.

Although in August 1840 burgher Mocke requested payment for a kruidhuis he constructed, it appears that it did not meet Volksraad approval because less than a year later one Dewald Pretorius was instructed to erect a 10 feet square kruithuis in Pietermaritzburg (S.A.A.R.:55 and 73). Later a sod wall was built around the kruithuis to secure the ammunition stored therein. On the eve of British occupation and annexation, the Volksraad paid burghers willing to travel to Colesberg in the Cape Colony to purchase and transport ammunition for defending Natal. This purchased ammunition was stored in the kruithuis and supplemented with local smelting and ammunition production (S.A.A.R.:155-156).

Defensive trenches or schansen (plural is schans) were also part of the Dutch-Afrikaner defensive settlement system. Burghers stressed the need for a schans shortly after Pietermaritzburg was laid out in 1839 (S.A.A.R.:18). Thereafter the Dutch Reformed church at Pietermaritzburg was fortified through the construction of a high ring wall. In the Port Natal and Weenen districts public meetings were convened in April 1841 to discuss and select farms where schansen would be constructed (S.A.A.R.:92). These defensive structures afforded the Republic protection since they served as rallying points for waging war. Furthermore, the protection of the Republic was enhanced through Volksraad prescribed commandos, compulsory burgher military duty coupled with the oath of allegiance to the Republic, and confiscating ammunition from Port Natal's old English inhabitants who were suspected of conspiracy with the British invaders.

Raadzaal-Prison Complex

The Volksraad met in the raadzaal (meeting house). Although the raad met most frequently in the Pietermaritzburg raadzaal, occasionally meetings were convened in the Congella raadzaal. At Congella an old converted house served the dual purpose of raadzaal and prison (S.A.A.R.:27). The construction of raadzaal's and prisons were not undertaken by the Volksraad. Construction was delegated instead to officials in each of the districts who would request bidders; consequently construction was tardy, partly due to a shortage of funds. The construction of the Pietermaritzburg prison is a case in point. In November 1839 the Volksraad decided that a prison should be constructed in Pietermaritzburg. In January 1840, landdrost Zietsman was informed of this decision

and given Rds. 96 for prison construction that was collected at a public meeting (S.A.A.R.:20 and 29). By June 1841 the prison was in such disrepair that volunteers were sought to repair it, and two months later the secretary of the Volksraad, appalled at the slow progress in prison repair, suggested withdrawing the contract (S.A.A.R.:109). The town of Port Natal was the last to have a raadzaal and prison built. In October 1841 the Volksraad instructed the Port Natal landdrost to construct a 15 by 20 foot prison as well as a raadzaal (S.A.A.R.:116). The raadzaal at Congella and Port Natal were primarily used for meetings by officials to discuss matters pertaining to the administration of those districts. The raadzaal-prison complex in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal is analogous to the administrative function of the drosdty located at Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet in the eastern Cape Colony (Figure 13). Weenen was the only town in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal not to have a raadzaal-prison administrative complex.

Dutch Reformed (Gerevormeerde) Church

Territorial dispossession of indigenous South Africans by Voortrekkers and their concomitant settlement in interior South Africa was predicated on predestination enshrined in Calvinism. The importance of the Dutch-Reformed church in burgher everyday life is evident in the appointment of church administrators at Pietermaritzburg in January 1840, shortly after their arrival in Natal (S.A.A.R.:30). Although Erasmus Smit served as the Dutch-Reformed minister in Pietermaritzburg after Voortrekker arrival, the Dutch-Reformed church did not have a permanent church building where burghers worshipped. This was largely attributable to a shortage of money. In

September 1840, the appointed church commission requested the raads' financial assistance in order to complete construction of part of the church in Pietermaritzburg (S.A.A.R.:63). In response, the Volksraad announced in January 1841 that 100 livestock obtained from Napaaij would be sold publicly; half the proceeds would fund church construction, the other half would be deposited in the general coffer (S.A.A.R.:72). Furthermore those burghers who were able to do so loaned money to the Volksraad for church construction. By October 1842, a Dutch-Reformed church had been constructed on erf 21 in Pietermaritz street (S.A.A.R.:163). Prior to this date, erf 34 in Longmarket street had served as the site for burgher worship. In addition to the Dutch-Reformed church in Pietermaritzburg, there was also an active church-school complex at Port Natal (S.A.A.R.:74). But the Dutch-Reformed churches located at these two locations could not serve the week-to-week needs of a dispersed pastoral society. Hence, burghers converged on Pietermaritzburg for quarterly communion services (nagtmal) for spiritual and social renewal.

Commercial Institutions

Commercial institutions associated with Dutch-Afrikaner Natal included units of measure and currency; the Pietermaritzburg market; milling operations, salt and iron extraction operations; and government sanctioned and organized Zulu-Boer trade along the Tugela River.

Units of Measure

When discussing units of measure, we may distinguish among currency, weights, and measures of length, distance and area. The rixdollar, skilling (schelling), and

stuiver (stuiwer) were the primary currency used by the Volksraad in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal; these were analogous to British pounds, shilling, and pence²¹. As was the practice in the Cape Colony, these Dutch-derived and British currencies were used interchangeably in Natal²². Three examples illustrate this interchangeability of currency. In August 1841 the Volksraad decided to pay landdrost Boshoff of Pietermaritzburg one-half crown (2 shillings 6 pence) for each title-deed issued and Rds. 2 for each farm transferred (S.A.A.R.:108). In February 1842 the Volksraad announced that the secretary of the Volksraad would be paid 100 pounds sterling per annum as well as Rds. 2 for each erf transferred and one-half crown for each title-deed issued (S.A.A.R.:146). Finally, in April 1843, the raad decided to pay J.P. Zietsman, the Pietermaritzburg landdrost, 100 pounds sterling per annum while a law-officer would be paid Rds. 30:5:2 for each inventory inspected (S.A.A.R.:173-174). These examples illustrate the co-existence of British and Dutch-Afrikaner institutions in a

²¹ G. Thompson, the nineteenth century Cape traveller, asserts that the rixdollar was first issued by the D.E.I.C. in 1781 (Cited in Branford 1987:295). The relative value of the rixdollar, skilling, and stuiver was as follows:

1 rixdollar = 8 skillings

1 skilling = 6 stuivers

48 stuivers = 1 rixdollar (Pettman 1913:392-393 and Branford 1987:295-296, 310, and 354).

Similarly, the relative value of pounds, shilling, and pence were:

1 pound = 20 shillings

1 shilling = 12 pence

240 pence = 1 pound.

²² The Volksraad ruled in July 1844, that 2 pounds sterling was equivalent to Rds. 26:5:2 (S.A.A.R.:188); therefore for comparative purposes we may assert that 1 pound sterling was equivalent to approximately 13 rixdollars during the Republican period in Natal.

Republic where familiarity with the currencies of both ethno-cultural societies' was a necessity. This situation was brought about through interaction and was manifested in financial transactions and Volksraad decrees.

Table 10 summarizes the linear units of length and area used in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal. As mentioned earlier, when farm-boundary conflicts arose, it was common for surveyors to make adjustments to existing boundaries by moving the central point of farms x-minutes (menueten) in a certain direction. Generally, this arrangement circumvented conflicting claims and satisfied the respective parties. Similarly, farms were surveyed according to the one-hour rule (See earlier discussion). The practice of referring to time was also used in the delimitation of dorps. In February 1842, the Natal Volksraad informed burghers west of the Berg that the size of the proposed dorp on the Elands River "...zal in de omtrek in groote bepaald worden 2 uren na alle kanten uit 't middenpunt²³" (S.A.A.R.:141). In other instances the Volksraad resorted to Dutch units of measure including "Hollandsche mylen" in reference to the delimitation of district boundaries in 1839 and in February 1842 the Landdrost of Pietermaritzburg bemoaned the fact that erven in Pietermaritzburg were too extensive by "Rheinlands maat²⁴" (S.A.A.R.:11 and 142). The Volksraad responded to the Landdrosts exclamation by informing him to ensure that²⁵ "de dorp zo goed als kan gedaan worden

²³ "...will be determined by two hours in all directions from a central point."

²⁴ See earlier discussion in erf-size section for details on the Rhineland system and morgen.

²⁵ "...the dorp's [Pietermaritzburg] streets be surveyed as best as is possible to ensure that the streets are laid out more or less accurately."

Table 10

Units of Linear Length and Area Used in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal

DUTCH-AFRIKANER TERM	TRANSLATION
Hollandsche mylen	Dutch mile
Rheinlands maat	Rhineland measure
Voeten	Dutch feet
Treedeen	Paces
Menueten	Minutes
Uren	Hour(s)
Morgen	Morgen

Source: Compiled from Notule van die Natalse Volksraad & Duly 1968

1 Rhineland Foot = 0.3139 English feet

1 Morgen = 2.11654 English acre

te laten opmeten om de straten min of meer regt te kunnen bebouwen" (S.A.A.R.:142). It appears that inaccuracies were not limited to the capital since the Volksraad also informed the landdrosts of Weenen and Port Natal to ensure that markers were erected for the survey of erven in these dorpe.

In commercial transactions, the Dutch-Afrikaner inhabitants of Natal used the pound and muid²⁶ (plural is muddens) interchangeably. Generally references to grains and other foodstuffs were given in muid while specifications on the purchase of ammunition (kruit) were given in pounds. In September 1840, Tobias Smuts was sold a piece of land at Weenen measuring 200 by 300 treeden (paces) for approximately Rds. 800 on condition that he ground 10 muddens of mielies in a twenty-four hour period (S.A.A.R.:64). Moreover in June 1842 a general Volksraad decree specified that mielies would be ground for Rds. 1 per muid. Similarly Volksraad price controls of November 1842 referred to salt and oats sale prices by the muid. Prisoner bread, meat, coffee, sugar, and rice rations were the only units of measure pertaining to foodstuffs given in pounds (S.A.A.R.:156). Furthermore, all Volksraad discussions pertaining to ammunition were by the pound. On the eve of the English invasion of the harbor, burgher volunteers were sought to travel to Colesberg where they were requested to purchase between 2000 and 4000 pounds of ammunition (kruit) at 2000 half-crowns for 4000 pounds (S.A.A.R.:156). Finally, wine normally cost Rds 10 per halfaam and brandy could be purchased at Rds 2 per gallon (S.A.A.R.:53). Reference to both

²⁶ A Dutch measure of capacity weighing just under 200 pounds (91 kilograms) (Pettman 1913:328-329 and Branford 1987:232).

Dutch-Afrikaner and British weights in commercial transactions in Natal is indicative of the co-existence of Dutch-Afrikaner and British institutions.

Pietermaritzburg Market and Other Commercial Undertakings

Burghers from all over Dutch-Afrikaner Natal bought and sold produce, meat, and grains in Pietermaritzburg. As with most social and economic undertakings in Natal, the Volksraad promulgated market regulations in 1842. These regulations made provision for the appointment of a market-master. Furthermore, the market master was required to keep, and each month forward to the Pietermaritzburg landdrost, records detailing produce sold, prices paid, and the names of buyers' and sellers' at the market (S.A.A.R.:172). Government regulation and control of the Pietermaritzburg market is another example of a "big-brother" Volksraad that kept a watchful eye over the commercial activity of its citizens.

Burghers interested in the construction of milling operations had to obtain Volksraad approval and such approval was subject to a number of conditions. Ths. Sheer's request for land near the cemetery in Pietermaritzburg early in 1840 was granted on condition that he erect a mill within a year of the grant. Burgher Tobias Smuts, referred to previously, requested land for milling operations on two occasions; once for land in Pietermaritzburg, the other for land in Weenen along the Bushman's (Bosseman's) River. Land adjacent to the dorpspruit in Pietermaritzburg was granted to him in September 1840 on condition that he erect a water-mill within eight months and that said mill be capable of grinding 10 muddens of corn in twenty-four hours. The land granted Smuts for the construction of a water mill in Weenen nearly two years later was

subject to even more conditions. First, and most importantly, the Volksraad agreed to grant Smuts this land providing that two-thirds of the dorp's landowners agreed to the proposed plan of constructing a mill. The land along the Bushman's River cost Rds. 1000; Smuts agreed to pay for the land in annual, interest-free installments of Rds. 100. Furthermore, he agreed to construct a mill capable of grinding one muid of gram per hour within six months of receiving the land. Finally, he could only charge clients 1 schilling per muid for corn ground (S.A.A.R.:429-430).

Other commercial enterprises included salt and iron extraction operations. In November 1839 Laurens Badenhorst and three other burghers bided for the right to mine salt at Port Natal. The Volksraad subsequently granted Badenhorst the monopoly to mine salt for 6 years; tax-free for the first five years. After the fifth year, however, he had to pay the government a tax of 2 schellingen per muid for salt extracted. The Volksraad also decided that Badenhorst should charge Rds. 5 per muid during the first year and Rds. 3 per muid during the remaining years that he had the monopoly (S.A.A.R.:34-35). By October 1841 Badenhorst relinquished his monopoly on salt extraction and the government announced that anybody so wishing was free to work the Port Natal salt pans (S.A.A.R.:114). In January 1842 Wm. Wilson's proposed plan for a salt factory at Port Natal was approved and he was granted the sole right to mine the pans for three years (S.A.A.R.:133).

Smelting iron coupled with the manufacture of ammunition (kruit) was not a continuous enterprise. With the impending English attack on Natal in June 1842, the Volksraad suggested that such operations commence. Despite such sporadic interest,

the Volksraad relied on the importation of ammunition from beyond the Republic's borders rather than establish permanent local operations (S.A.A.R.:156).

Zulu-Boer Trade

Despite the Volksraad's reluctance to allow burghers to cross the Tugela river into Zululand for winter hunting, they officially sanctioned and established institutions to facilitate Zulu-Boer trade in October 1841. According to this Volksraad decree, burghers and Zulus desirous of trading would be permitted to do so at the drift (lowest point) of the Tugela River commencing at the next full moon (October 29th). Trade in all goods, with the exception of strong liquor, weapons, ammunition, and horses, would last for eight days and be supervised by a resident government official (opsigter). Further Zulu-Boer trade would occur every six months thereafter. Hence organized cyclical trade occurred twice a year; at the onset of the wet season in spring and just prior to the dry winter season (S.A.A.R.:113).

Settlement Expansion

The expansion of settlement in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal was facilitated through the plantation of administrative centers located at Congella, Port Natal, Weenen, and Potchefstroom (Figure 25). Pietermaritzburg was the Republic's administrative nucleus and these dorpe were bound to the capital through elected administrative personnel (Table 11). Furthermore, Natal was divided into four administrative districts (analogous to counties), namely, Pietermaritzburg, Port Natal, Weenen, and Potchefstroom located west of the Drakensberg. West of the Drakensberg, Potchefstroom served as the administrative center for burghers residing along the Vaal, Mooi, Elands, Vet, Sand,

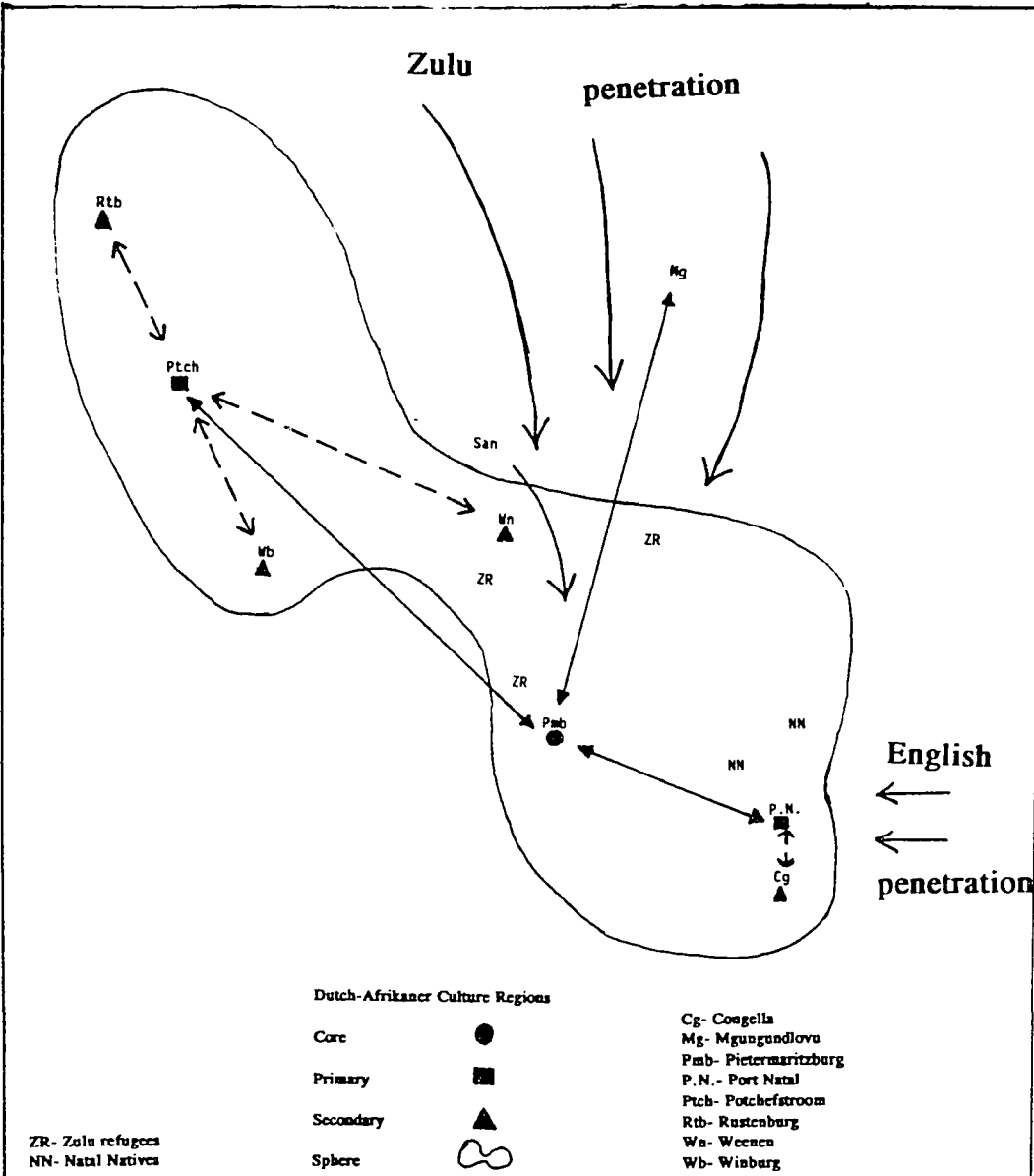


Figure 25 Dutch-Afrikaner Culture Regions: Schematic Representation Circa 1843

Table 11

Administrative Institutions in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT	ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE	ADMINISTRATIVE SUB-CENTERS
Pietermaritzburg Port Natal Weenen West of the Berg	Pietermaritzburg Port Natal Weenen Potchefstroom	None Congella None Winburg Rustenburg

TITLE	ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTION	MILITARY FUNCTION	LEGAL FUNCTION
Landdrost	X		X
Fieldcornet	X		
Heemraad			X
Commandant		X	

Source: Compiled from Notule van die Natalse Volksraad

Modder, and Caledon rivers (Figure 23). Winburg and Rustenburg are considered as administrative sub-centers similar to Congella in the Port Natal district²⁷. Although these dorpe were founded upon the request of burghers rather than on the initiative of the Volksraad, the Volksraad issued decrees to administrative personnel resident at each of these dorpe pertaining to dorp layout, farm disposal, demarcation, and the general administration of their districts. In short, the Volksraad exercised considerable control in permitting burghers to actually take occupation of their extensive pastoral landholdings. Hence, unlike the laissez-faire farm selection and demarcation processes, the direction and timing of rural settlement expansion was determined and regulated by the Volksraad through administrative personnel including the landdrost and field-cornets. Legal and military matters in each district were handled by landdrosts and heemraaden and commandants, respectively. A detailed discussion of the administrative centers is presented below, followed by a consideration of the function of administrative personnel. I then conclude this section with a discussion of the Volksraad's role in controlling rural settlement expansion in three geographical locations, namely, southern Natal, interior Natal (north of Tugela River), and west of the Drakensberg.

Administrative Centers

The primacy of Pietermaritzburg as the Republic's administrative, social, and economic center has already been mentioned. In an administrative sense,

²⁷ It is not possible to establish the exact boundaries of these administrative districts because of the dearth of information available. In the minutes of the Volksraad meetings the existence of these districts is confirmed through reference to them. Nothing is, however, revealed concerning their precise boundaries and extent.

Pietermaritzburg was the socio-political center from which communication to the other administrative centers emanated. In addition to the site of the assembly of the Volksraad, Pietermaritzburg provided numerous other socio-political services. All title-deeds for farms and erven purchased throughout the Republic, including the geographical area west of the Drakensberg, were issued by the Secretary of the Volksraad and occasionally by the Pietermaritzburg landdrost (S.A.A.R.:114 and 122). Burghers petitioning land and remuneration for losses incurred while serving on commandos or while engaged in any other government service had to do so before the full Volksraad in the Pietermaritzburg raadzaal. The appointed land committee also convened at the capital to hear grievances, discuss these, and make decisions pertaining to them. The monies collected by local landdrosts for taxes, fines, and import duties throughout Natal were forwarded to the Secretary of the Volksraad who was responsible for keeping money entrusted to the general coffer. In conjunction with the Volksraad, he decided which individuals would be reimbursed and which public projects were worthy of financial assistance. Finally, elected and appointed government officials ranging from landdrosts to the supervisor of Zulu-Boer trade along the Tugela River were required to take the oath of office, which in effect meant swearing allegiance to the Republic, before the Volksraad in Pietermaritzburg. In short, Pietermaritzburg was the locus of political power in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal (Figure 25).

Defensive and commercial activity associated with the harbor were the primary administrative functions of Port Natal. Furthermore, Port Natal also served a communication function, transmitting information between ships arriving at the harbor

and the administrative nucleus in Pietermaritzburg (Figure 25). The intermediary site of the dorp between the Indian Ocean on the one side and Pietermaritzburg in the interior is reflected in Volksraad references to the punt (point) and "de baay van Portnatal²⁸" when referring to Port Natal (S.A.A.R.:120). In fact, the point and bay were synonymous with the dorp at Port Natal. In addition to a Dutch-Reformed church, a raadzaal, and prison there was also a storage house (pakhuis) close to the harbor where merchants or purchasers could store their merchandise "voor een billyke prijs²⁹" (S.A.A.R.:101). C.V. Buchner and burgher Botha were appointed harbor commandant and harbor master during the first quarter of 1840 to oversee defence and trade, respectively (S.A.A.R.:29 and 145). Botha was responsible for levying and collecting import duties, controlling the importation of strong liquor, and levying fines when burghers transgressed Volksraad harbor regulations. The harbor commandant was responsible for co-ordinating defence-related efforts including supervising the 20-burgher strong force that had to be ready to weather possible attacks from sea. In order to facilitate communication between Port Natal and Pietermaritzburg, the Volksraad gave burgher Potgieter Rds. 150 in January 1841 to purchase a horse that would be used to convey mail between the capital and the sea-port dorp (S.A.A.R.:75). Congella is characterized as an administrative sub-center because its importance as an administrative center declined following the lay-out of Port Natal (circa 1840). Site determined that

²⁸ "the bay of Port Natal."

²⁹ "at a reasonable price."

Port Natal, located closer to the harbor than Congella, became an important administrative center because of defensive and mercantile considerations.

When considering the importance of all administrative dorps' links with the capital, Weenen's were by far the weakest. Isolated Weenen was the only dorp located within the extensive Weenen district deep in interior Natal (Figure 25). The importance of security in the Weenen district is reflected in the appointment of a military official, namely commandant Spies, in March 1840 approximately six months before the appointment of the landdrost, a civil administrator (S.A.A.R.:38). Potchefstroom to the west and Pietermaritzburg to the southeast were the closest dorpe to Weenen (Figure 25). Weenen's relative geographical isolation and closer proximity to the administrative district west of the Berg, centered on Potchefstroom, resulted in delegating matters pertaining to the district's civil, legal, and military administration to the local landdrost and elected officials. Burgher Smuts' October 1842 request for land to construct a water-mill was referred to the Weenen landdrost who could only sanction the grant if two-thirds of the dorp's landowners assented to the request (S.A.A.R.:161). Furthermore, the proximity of Weenen to the administrative district west of the Berg is reflected in the Volksraad's August 1842 response to the Weenen inhabitants request for protection from San and indigenous Africans (*naturelle*) who were allegedly stealing cattle and destroying burgher property. The Volksraad informed the Weenen commandant to garner assistance from burghers west of the Berg in pursuing the thieves and retrieving their livestock (S.A.A.R.:159).

The administrative district west of the Drakensberg centered on Potchefstroom officially became part of Dutch-Afrikaner Natal in February 1841 (S.A.A.R.:81-82). Prior to this date, the Volksraad had appointed officials to serve burghers residing west of the Berg, heard petitions for land, and sent a commission to meet and converse with inhabitants "agter die berg³⁰" concerning their future government. The arrangements for establishing Potchefstroom as an administrative center under the jurisdiction of the Natal Volksraad was communicated to Andk. Hendk. Potgieter and Caspr. J. Krieger who attended the February 1841 Volksraad meeting in Pietermaritzburg as representatives of the Potchefstroom burghers. The instructions they delivered to landdrost de Klerk upon their return to Potchefstroom stipulated the procedure for electing ten more Potchefstroom government officials in addition to Potgieter and Krieger who took the oath of office and swore allegiance to the Republic at the February meeting. These officials constituted an Adjunct Council that was responsible for the civil, military, and legal administration of the district west of the Drakensberg. The Adjunct Council was, however, not independent of the Natal Volksraad. To be sure, the Adjunct Council had to forward the minutes of their meetings together with relevant annexures to the Secretary of the Volksraad for perusal, modification, and approval. Moreover, twice a year the Adjunct Council had to send a two-person commission to Pietermaritzburg, where at a meeting of the full Volksraad they would provide an oral report on conditions in their district, present burgher grievances, and make suggestions for the government of burghers west of the Drakensberg.

³⁰ Literally "behind the mountain."

Furthermore, decisions made by the Adjunct Council concerning government in Potchefstroom were subject to approval of the full Volksraad before being promulgated and implemented. In conjunction with Natal town planning and delimitation regulations that were duplicated west of the Berg, Natal farm disposal, delimitation, and inspection regulations also guided Potchefstroom officials when promulgating settlement policy (S.A.A.R.:81-82).

Initially Potchefstroom served burghers residing along and adjacent to the confluence of the Vaal and Mooi Rivers (Figure 23). After the establishment of an adjunct-raad here in 1841, two additional dorpe were laid out west of the Berg; Winburg on the Vet River in October 1841 and Rustenburg on the Elands River in February 1842 (Figure 23). In both instances the Volksraad appointed Natal government officials who traversed the Drakensberg mountains to instruct and assist burghers west of the Berg in the lay-out of Winburg and Rustenburg. In the case of Winburg, Andries Pretorius was instructed to select the site for the proposed dorp, to establish the new dorp's boundary (lemietscheidingen), and to appoint government officials (S.A.A.R.:116). In February 1842, Jacob de Klerk, landdrost of Potchefstroom, and Johannis Bodenstein, an appointed Natal official, were appointed as commissioners to determine the extent of Rustenburg, demarcate 150 by 450 feet erven, and dispose of and collect money for erven sold (Rds. 50 each) (S.A.A.R.:141). Three settlement foci are therefore discernible "agter de Berg." In the extreme north and south, Rustenburg and Winburg existed as administrative sub-districts. Rustenburg served the geographical area that straddled the Elands River, while Winburg served a larger area that included the Sand

and Vet Rivers to the north, the Modder River to the south, and the Caledon River to the east (Figure 23). Although after their founding officials were appointed for these administrative sub-districts, Potchefstroom, located between Rustenburg and Winburg, persisted as the dominant administrative dorp west of the Berg through direct communication with the Volksraad at Pietermaritzburg (Figure 25).

Administrative Personnel

Elected and appointed personnel performed civil, military, and legal functions in the administration of individual districts (Table 11). We may differentiate between civil-legal functions and military functions. Each administrative district had a landdrost who served at the apex of the hierarchy and whose responsibilities straddled the civil/legal-military government dichotomy. Decrees promulgated at Volksraad meetings were communicated to district landdrosts in one of two ways, namely, verbally via district raad members upon their return from the capital or in documented form, signed by the Secretary of the Volksraad. Burghers residing on isolated homesteads in the sparsely populated districts were informed of government decrees and concerns via heemraaden and fieldcornets who were in direct communication with the landdrost of each district. Three examples illustrate the efficiency of this channel of communication that linked the Volksraad in Pietermaritzburg with the Republic's citizens through landdrosts, heemraaden, and fieldcornets in outlying districts.

Volksraad elections were held annually. A month or so prior to the election the Volksraad usually petitioned landdrosts to instruct their fieldcornets to record the names of all residents under their jurisdiction (ie. ward-level, see discussion below) that were

eligible to vote. Moreover, Volksraad candidates were nominated by popular vote at the ward-level. Individual fieldcornets forwarded this recorded voting information to the district landdrosts office from whence it was sent to the capital for the consideration of the Volksraad. Similarly, the November 1842 Volksraad prescribed prices for flour, salt, and oats during the war were communicated to district landdrosts. Landdrosts in turn informed heemraaden, who as enforcers of the law in rural areas of the Republic ensured that price controls were adhered to (S.A.A.R.:166). Finally, money and cattle collected from burgher donations throughout the Republic were forwarded to the landdrost's office. Volksraad members from the respective districts ensured that money and livestock were transported to the capital. The collected money was placed in the general coffer while livestock forwarded were sold by public auction at the capital and the proceeds deposited in the general coffer.

As mentioned previously, each district was divided into wards. Fieldcornets and heemraaden were appointed at the ward-level where they performed civil and legal functions. References in the minutes of the Natal Volksraad meetings to the total number of fieldcornets and heemraaden that served the Republic as well as individual districts are scanty (Table 12). From available records, it appears that heemraaden were appointed more frequently and generally outnumbered fieldcornets. In the Port Natal district, there was only one fieldcornet each in 1839 and 1841 while a total of six and seven heemraaden were appointed for 1841 and 1842, respectively. Similar patterns are discernable in Weenen and Pietermaritzburg where heemraaden outnumbered fieldcornets. In fact, Pietermaritzburg had the most heemraaden in the Republic,

Table 12

Number of Elected Officials by Administrative District

DISTRICT	YEAR	LANDDROST	F/C	HEEMRAAD	COMMANDANT
Port Natal	1839	X	X (1)	X (?)	X X
	1841		X (1)	X (6)	
	1842			X (7)	
Weenen	1840	X	X (2)	X (6)	X (1) X (1)
	1841		X (?)	X (?)	
	1842		X (2)	X (6)	
	1843			X (6)	
Pietermaritzburg	1839	X		X (7)	
	1840			X (2)	
	1841			X (6)	
	1842			X (6)	
	1843			X (8)	

Source: Compiled from Notule of Natalse Volksraad

Note:

F/C – Fieldcornet

namely eight in 1843 while there are no references to the appointment of fieldcornets for the Pietermaritzburg district (Table 12).

Military functions associated with defence of the district, organizing commandos, and dividing cattle among burghers who aided in military expeditions were performed by the district commandant (Table 11). The commandant of each district reported to the Hoofd-Commandant (Chief) in Pietermaritzburg whose decision in sanctioning or prohibiting military expeditions was final. Appointment to the post of commandant and hoofd-commandant generally coincided with the need to perform such a duty. Hence with the renewed threat of British occupation of the harbor in January 1842, Port Natal burghers called a public meeting where they requested that a commandant be appointed to serve the dorp and the Port Natal district in general. The Volksraad responded by appointing H.S. Lombaard to this post (S.A.A.R.:138). In contrast with civil-legal personnel, military officials were sporadic and temporary appointments.

In sum, administrative personnel served as an extension of the Volksraad. Decrees associated with an oppressive Volksraad were enforced by fieldcornets, heemraaden, and commandants at the ward-level. All citizens older than 15 years were notified by the Volksraad in August 1840 that they had until the end of the year to appear before their landdrost to swear allegiance to the Republic (land) and nation (volk). Those that failed to do so would be stripped of all their burgher privileges (S.A.A.R.:54). Later, on February 25, 1842, the Volksraad issued a notice stating that from said date forth all burghers residing within Natal, excluding the administrative district west of the Berg, were prohibited from leaving Natal without the permission of the Volksraad. In

addition, the Volksraad empowered landdrosts, commandants, and fieldcornets to pursue and apprehend burghers in the process of leaving the Republic. Furthermore these burghers would be fined Rds. 500. If government officials failed to prevent such unauthorized flight from Natal, the possessions of these burghers would be sold to raise the Rds. 500 (S.A.A.R.:144-145). This decree circumscribing burgher mobility went hand-in-hand with swearing allegiance to the Volksraad government and compulsory military service. The Volksraad's desperation concerning the latter is reflected in the draconian law passed in August 1842 according to which Landdrosts and all government officials were empowered to arrest any burgher refusing to defend the Republic. Furthermore, if government officials were threatened with a weapon, the Volksraad instructed officials to threaten, wound, and even kill those resisting the law. Further refusal to serve resulted in a Rds. 50 fine or one month in prison (S.A.A.R.:157).

Controlled Expansion

As mentioned previously, selection, demarcation, and occupation of farms was an unstructured, fluid process. The Volksraad attempted to bring a semblance of order to the entire land disposal and occupation process through specifying when selected farms could be recorded, inspected, and eventually occupied. In short, although the earliest burghers were entitled to two farms, there were constraints on their location and occupation. The Volksraad controlled settlement expansion in two general geographical locations in Natal, namely, interior and southern Natal.

In southern Natal, bounded by the Omtafoena (Umtamvuna) river in the extreme south, the Volksraad sanctioned the inspection of farms from the Umbees River to south

of the Umsimcoela (Umzimkulu) commencing two weeks after the June 14, 1841 Volksraad meeting (S.A.A.R.:95) (Figure 24). This was approximately eighteen months after Dutch-Afrikaner Natal was permanently settled. Once settlement was officially sanctioned in southern Natal, the Volksraad wrestled with containing it from spilling into the Cape Colony, south of the Umzimkulu river. Hence, in January 1842 the Volksraad asserted that they deemed settlement to exist only north of the Umzimkulu River because no districts (or divisions) had been established south of that river. The raad concluded by noting that they would sanction settlement south of the Umzimkulu river at a later date (S.A.A.R.:132). In addition to restricting settlement north of the Umzimkulu, the raad prohibited future farm selection and occupation south of the Omtafoena (Umtamvuna) and "zo ook niet hoog boove aan de Umtafoena, Umbees, Omsimcoelo, Omcama and Umgienie waar dezelve zich in kleine spruiten beginde te verdeelen"³¹ (S.A.A.R.:132). The Volksraad reserved land in this geographical area as well as in the triangular area bounded by the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers in interior Natal, for farms they intended granting to burghers for uncompensated property losses and damages incurred in combat against the Zulu (Figure 24).

The geographical locality comprising interior Natal included land traversed by the upper course of the Tugela River to its confluence with the Buffalo River, the upper reaches of the Buffalo River, and the Klip River in its entirety (Figure 24). In August 1840 shortly after the founding of Weenen, landdrost Spies requested that the Volksraad

³¹ "also not on the upper reaches of the Umtamvuna, Umbees, Umzimkulu, Umkomaas and Umgeni where they divide into small branches or distributaries."

set a date for starting to record farms along the Boesmansriver (Bushman's River) "on the other side of the Tugela River." The raad responded by appointing G.J. Rudolph and Jac. C. Burger to assume the recording duties (S.A.A.R.:57). Less than a year later, there was such a demand for land in the Weenen district that the Volksraad announced that prospective farm claimants could have their petitions recorded at the Weenen landdrosts office commencing October 1st 1841. The Volksraad restricted claims to the upper reaches of the Buffels (Buffalo) River and noted that preference would be given to burghers committed to the well-being of the Republic (S.A.A.R.:89).

In September 1840, the Volksraad decided that all land lying within the triangular-shaped geographical area bounded by the Tugela river, the Drakensberg mountains, and the Buffalo river would be disposed of by lottery (looting in Cape-Dutch vernacular). Although they did not specify the duration, foreigners (uitlanders) were excluded from obtaining a farm by lottery for as long as the lottery disposal method was in effect. Moreover, the Volksraad asserted that family-men would have first preference even if they were in possession of higher lottery numbers than 18-year old youths. Finally the Volksraad determined the direction of settlement, namely, from the base of the Drakensberg in the interior towards the Tugela river further south (S.A.A.R.:59). Approximately six months later, in April 1841, burghers with farm claims along the entire length of the Klip River were granted permission to occupy their farms (S.A.A.R.:89). In October 1841 the Volksraad sanctioned occupation of farms "on the other side of the Tugela River" from the source of said river to the confluence of the Tugela and Klip Rivers. Those burghers who had not previously taken occupation of

their farms along both banks of the Klip River were granted permission to do so again (S.A.A.R.:111).

The Creation of Place

Towns

At Volksraad Meetings

Volksraad meetings punctuated by bickering, insults, disorderliness, dissention and violent outbursts offered a microcosm of life in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal. The Raadzaal embodied the power and authority of the Volksraad government. The raad met in this place to deliberate and to frame settlement policy that was subsequently communicated throughout the Republic via landdrosts and administrative personnel. These meetings were open to the public since this was the forum for burghers to lodge complaints, make suggestions, and determine their destiny either in person or through written petitions. Citizens unable to attend meetings in Pietermaritzburg were represented by Volksraad members from their particular district who presented written petitions to the raad. The general disorderliness of Volksraad meetings was manifest in the infrequency of these meetings³², their erratic starting times, and absence of the full 24-member Volksraad

³² The total number of times the Volksraad met by year from 1839 until August 7th, 1843 were as follows:

1839- 7 (15)

1840- 10 (37)

1841- 6 (33)

1842- 8 (28)

1843- 3 (8)

NOTE: The number in parentheses refers to the actual number of different days that the Volksraad met in that year. Hence, although the Volksraad had ten different meetings (continued...)

at nearly all meetings. Although the Volksraad was supposed to meet once a month, generally fewer meetings were convened and they occurred when pressing concerns necessitated them (Eg. Security of the Republic). After June 1844, when the editor of *De Natalier* (The Natalian) was permitted to attend Volksraad meetings, he was appalled by the slipshod procedures characteristic of Volksraad meetings:

Om 9 uren hadden de Leden present moeten wezen; het was echter 10 uren voorby en nog waren er slechts acht by elkander. De volle Raad bestaat uit 24 (S.A.A.R.:205)³³.

Moreover, when meetings did take place they were generally volatile. The volatile nature of Volksraad meetings is evident from the following Volksraad decrees concerning member-burgher conduct during these meetings. In September 1840, the Secretary of the Volksraad twice requested the commandant-general to provide armed guards to oversee Volksraad meetings and ensure decorum (S.A.A.R.:60 and 65). The disorderliness, violent outbursts, and insults characteristic of Volksraad meetings and

³²(...continued)

in the year 1840, two of these, namely, the March and August meetings spanned 7 and 8 days each respectively. Similarly, in 1841 the January and June meetings lasted 6 days each; the April meeting 7 days; and the October meeting 8 days. In 1842 the January and February meetings lasted for a total of 7 days each. I noted previously that commencing in 1842, the Commission Council convened on different days. It served a supplementary function and could meet at shorter notice because its five members resided close to Pietermaritzburg. The Commission Council met as follows:

1842- 10 (11)

1843- 6 (6)

(S.A.A.R.:v-vi).

³³ Although the members [Volksraad] should have been present at 9am; it was, however, 10am before they assembled and then there were still only eight members present. The full Volksraad consists of 24 members.

business associated with the Pietermaritzburg landdrost's office is evident from the Secretary of the Volksraad's desperate second petition to the commandant-general for the appointment of guards:

WelEde. Heer! Van tyd tot tyd groote ongereegeldheeden en verwarringen in de gewoone volksvergaaderingen, zo wel als bij de Hof van Landdt. en Heemraaden plaats vindende zo word UwEd. vriendelyk genoodigd by alle gewoone volksvergaaderingen en andere amtsbyeenkomsten een wagt van 10 man met een offisier te commanderen ten einde bescherming te veleenen in de uitoefening hunner openbaare besigheeden zullende by wygering of ongehoorzaamheid zodaanige tot die dienst opgeroepen offisier of burger verbeuren een Boete van Rd. 10 ieder maal't welk by ieder geleegenheid zal worden verdubbeld³⁴ (S.A.A.R.:65).

Although guards were present to ensure decorum during meetings, burghers attending Volksraad meetings continued to insult raad members. Hence, in November 1840, the Volksraad issued a proclamation that made provision for fining citizens Rds. 500 and/or a one-year prison sentence for insulting members of the Volksraad. Burghers were informed to lodge their grievances with the Secretary of the Raad following the meeting (S.A.A.R.:69). Members of the Volksraad were equally disruptive and belligerent during Volksraad meetings. J.P. Mulder, an elected Volksraad member, responded to the Volksraad's decision not to seat him until the completion of an investigation following an accusation against him by temporarily preventing the November 1840 meeting from commencing (S.A.A.R.:68). In February

³⁴ Your Honor! Because from time to time there is much disorder and confusion at both regular Volksraad meetings as well as at the court of the Landdrost and Heemraaden, I beseech Your Honor to appoint a guard of ten men under the command of one officer to be present at all regular Volksraad meetings and other official gatherings to provide protection to these government officials in the execution of their public duties; any officer or burgher who refuses or is disobedient when called to serve in this capacity will be fined Rds. 10 for the first refusal, this fine will be doubled for each subsequent refusal to serve when beckoned.

1841 Volksraad member L. Badenhorst was suspended for an entire year for "onbetaamelijk gedrag in de publieke raad zaal"³⁵ (S.A.A.R.:85).

Public Meetings

Public meetings provided a forum for burghers to voice their concerns regarding the government of the Republic. From 1840 until 1843, public meetings were arranged by the inhabitants of Weenen, Pietermaritzburg, Port Natal, and Congella to deliberate and forward suggestions to the Volksraad on matters such as the security of the Republic, petitions for more officials, challenges to Volksraad decrees, and adoption of resolutions for government of the Natives (S.A.A.R.:106, 77, 53, and 107). The inhabitants of the Port Natal district were the most vocal of all the Republic's burghers. Of the eleven public meetings referred to in the minutes of the Volksraad meetings, four were called by the Port Natal burghers, two each by the inhabitants of Weenen and Pietermaritzburg, one by Congella's burghers. The location of the last two public meetings could not be determined. Two of Port Natal's public meetings were called to improve the defensibility of the Port dorp while the other two dealt with controlling the influx of Natives into the district and the election of a landdrost (S.A.A.R.:106, 138, 107, and 78). The Volksraad's delegation of the election of a landdrost to the inhabitants of Port Natal and Weenen at the beginning of 1842 is indicative of the burgher's active role in administration during the latter part of the Republic's life (S.A.A.R.:138 and 144). During January 1842 and again in August 1843, the Volksraad sought burgher sentiment concerning the impending English invasion of Natal

³⁵ "disrespectful behavior in the public raadzaal."

through the arrangement of public meetings. In fact during January 1842, in addition to the public meetings arranged in Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Port Natal, the Volksraad suggested that the landdrosts of Weenen and Port Natal hold additional public meetings on one or two farms in these sparsely populated districts (S.A.A.R.:138).

On Farms

Dutch-Afrikaner society revolved around livestock and pasture resources associated with open-range semi-nomadic pastoralism. The centrality of livestock in the daily lives of burghers and competition for pasture and water resources was evident in perennial burgher farm disputes, commandos organized to retrieve stolen cattle, the enactment of legislation to determine a procedure for division of cattle following commando's, and using cattle as a means of exchange between Natives and the Volksraad and among burghers themselves.

Perennial Farm Disputes

I have previously emphasized that farm-boundary conflicts occurred because of the Volksraad's passive role in the farm-delimitation process which necessitated resurvey through shifting the central point of these extensive cadastres. Table 13 summarizes the annual number of farm disputes and their geographical distribution within Dutch-Afrikaner Natal from 1840 to 1843. A farm dispute is defined as claims of two or more burghers claims to the same farm. I have identified a total of 65 farm disputes from 1840 to 1843. The numerous farm disputes in 1840 (27) and 1841 (23) relative to 1842 and 1843's is probably attributable to initial competition for farms soon after the founding of the Republic of Natalia. Competition for farms with access to water

Table 13

Geographical Distribution of Farm Disputes in Dutch–Afrikaner Natal

Year	Number Farm Disputes	Geographical Locations	Unspecified
1840	27	Umkomaas River (4) Umgeni River (3) Umlazi River (4) Bushmen River Driff Bushmen River (below Weenen) (2) Weenen District Tugela River Pietermaritzburg District (6) Port Natal District (2)	3
1841	23	Umlazi River (2) Umgeni River (2) Potchefstroom District (8) Within Pietermaritzburg townlands Adjacent to Pietermaritzburg townlands Illovo River Weenen District	7
1842	9	Wasbanks wagon drift Vaal River (Public Purposes) Sand River (outspan) (2) Umgeni River Potchefstroom District Weenen District	2
1843	6	Zantspruit in Weenen District Weenen District Weenen District (Base of Mountains) Weenen District (Tugela River) (2) Umnonotie (West of Berg)	0

Source: Compiled from Minutes of the meetings of the Natal
Volksraad (N.N.V.) 1839–1843.

Note: The number in parentheses designates number of farm disputes

was apparently an important consideration judging from the recurrence of river names as geographical locations where farm disputes occurred. This was particularly acute in 1840 when more than half of the farm disputes with specified geographical localities were located along rivers. A total of eleven farm disputes occurred along three southeast-trending rivers in the Port Natal district, namely, the Umkomaas (4), Umgeni (3), and Umlazi (4) (Figure 24). Three other disputes were identified along Bushman's River close to the dorp of Weenen as well as a single farm conflict along the Tugela River (Table 13). Farm disputes along the Umlazi and Umgeni rivers were to recur in 1841 and 1842. Other references to the geographical location of farm disputes were less specific. In 21 of the 65 farm disputes identified by the Volksraad, the most specific geographical location was given as either the Weenen, Pietermaritzburg, Potchefstroom, or Port Natal district (Table 13). Farm disputes were perennial because of the need for pasture and water resources as well as the mobility of Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists and were compounded by a rudimentary farm demarcation procedure.

Centrality of Livestock in Dutch-Afrikaner Society

Commandos were retained by burghers, normally with the sanction of the commandant-general, to retrieve stolen livestock. A commandant was appointed leader of a commando that consisted of many burghers who pursued on horseback the spoor of San and/or other Native cattle thieves. Although burgher complaints to the Volksraad about cattle thefts were most common in the Port Natal (S.A.A.R.:49, 62-63, and 98) and Weenen districts (S.A.A.R.:118, 133, and 143), cattle thefts also occurred west of the Drakensberg (S.A.A.R.:117 and 126). The San were most frequently

accused as the transgressors in Weenen while in Port Natal, residents intimated that Zulu refugees who crossed the Tugela River were the culprits. Initially burgher participation in commandos was voluntary; burghers who suffered losses normally initiated the arrangement of a commando and were aided by friends and neighbors. In other instances, complaints were tendered to the Volksraad who petitioned the commandant-general to appoint a commandant, assemble willing burghers, and determine the date of the commando. Some burghers were reluctant, however, to serve on commando when approached by either their neighbors, the commandant-general or the commandant resulting in a shortage of burghers volunteers. Hence, by January 1841, the Volksraad received a memorial from 121 burghers that called for severe punishment for burghers refusing to do commando duty (S.A.A.R.:78). After this date, commando duty became compulsory for all burghers. Commandos did not always constitute exclusively white burghers tracking down San or Native cattle thieves. In some instances Native chiefs and their subjects joined forces with Volksraad sanctioned commandos in pursuit of Zulu cattle pilferers (S.A.A.R.:103).

At the conclusion of a commando, commando leaders were required to provide the Volksraad with a written and/or oral report. These reports had to be approved by the Volksraad (S.A.A.R.:28 and 52). The subject of dividing livestock among burghers on commando as well as those burghers who suffered losses following Native and San incursions and concomitant property damage and destruction created disagreement, complaints, and considerable debate in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal (S.A.A.R.:27, 35, 133, and 136). In June 1840 burgher Pretorious, for example, proposed that the commission

appointed to investigate the division of cattle obtained from the Zulu request burghers who were given too many cattle to return these to the commission. This decision was taken because of burgher discontent attributable to unfair division resulting in cattle shortages (S.A.A.R.:46). Burghers residing west of the Drakensberg were equally vocal when they suspected officials of favoring themselves or their kith and kin when dividing commando cattle (S.A.A.R.:101, 122, and 129). In October 1841, Josua Joubert, the ex-cattle commissioner west of the Berg, was instructed to travel to Pietermaritzburg to defend himself against allegations that he had kept commando cattle valued at Rds. 800 (S.A.A.R.:122).

The Volksraad anticipated that livestock allocation would provide disagreement, controversy, and complaints amongst burghers who had incurred losses, those who actually went on commando, as well as among burghers eager to obtain additional head of cattle. Therefore as early as March 1840, the Volksraad appointed a commission to draft regulations concerning the division of livestock obtained on commando (S.A.A.R.:31). The regulations subsequently promulgated stipulated a hierarchy in the allocation of cattle obtained on commando. Burghers that had suffered cattle losses would be repaid first. Moreover of the remaining livestock, ten percent would go to the general coffer while the balance would be divided amongst members of the commando party. Fifteen head of cattle were the maximum that commando members were allowed; the remaining livestock had to be forwarded to the Pietermaritzburg landdrost. Horses would be divided in the same manner with the exception that commando members were only allowed one horse each; surplus horses would be

forwarded to the Pietermaritzburg landdrost (S.A.A.R.:42). In January 1841, the Volksraad twice delegated petitions and complaints about procedures for division of cattle to the commandant-general, commandants, and other government officials (S.A.A.R.:72). Matters came to a head in June 1841 when the commandant-general asked the Volksraad for additional guidelines for division of cattle following persistent burgher complaints of outstanding livestock enumeration. The Volksraad responded by promulgating what may be termed the 20% principle. Burghers who had received less than 20% of their losses would be given first preference in future livestock allocations. The commandant-general and his hired clerk were responsible for keeping records about the distribution of cattle. Each page of these records reporting who had received cattle and how many had to be signed by the commandant-general as well as two witnesses (S.A.A.R.:96-97). Shortly thereafter Wm. van Aard and Johns. Bruwer were temporarily appointed to investigate and report on the number of cattle obtained from the Zulu as well as the division of said cattle (S.A.A.R.:105). In October 1841 van Aard and Marts. Stijn were appointed as cattle commissioners for the Republic east and west of the Berg respectively. These paid officials would in future investigate ownership and/or illegal possession of illegal (S.A.A.R.:113).

Finally, the importance of livestock in Dutch-Afrikaner everyday life is reflected in their use as a means of exchange. During 1839 and 1840, the Volksraad exacted tribute from the Zulu King Dingaan and his rival Panda as well as from other Zulu refugee chiefs residing within the Republic. The Volksraad exploited the schism in the Zulu Kingdom through political allegiance with Panda. To be sure, Panda and his followers

were permitted to reside within Natal. Moreover, Panda and the Boers were allied in opposing the Zulu King Dingaan who resided at Umgungundhlovu (Figure 24). The Volksraad did, however, use this alliance to obtain livestock from Panda's subjects through negotiation with Panda himself. In March 1840, Panda was instructed that he still owed the Volksraad 15,000 head of cattle for their kind gesture. These livestock excluded the 8,000 owed to the Dutch-Afrikaner government by Dingaan which Panda was required to give the Volksraad (S.A.A.R.:37). Following the death of Dingaan, the Volksraad responded to Panda's April 1840 request that Dingaan's subjects join Panda and his followers in Natal by asserting that the future of Panda and his followers would be decided following payment of his cattle debt (S.A.A.R.:40).

Livestock were also used to pay officials salaries in lieu of money. In June 1841 the Volksraad informed the commandant-general and his clerk that they would be paid 10 and 5 head of cattle respectively each time they divided livestock among claimants following commandos (S.A.A.R.:96). These cattle were obtained from the general coffer which consisted both of money, kept by the secretary of the Volksraad, and government livestock, housed in the Volksraad kraal in Pietermaritzburg. The aforementioned discussion suggests that livestock played an integral part in the daily lives of Dutch-Afrikaner citizens. This is manifest in competition for pastoral resources, enactment of legislation to systematically deal with complaints associated with the division of livestock following commandos, and the use of livestock as a means of exchange between burghers and indigenous people as well as amongst Dutch-Afrikaner citizens and officials. In short, wealth for Dutch-Afrikaner citizens was measured by

their livestock. Since most of their institutions revolved around livestock, these burghers may be considered another frontier tribe amongst the Khoikhoi, Xhosa, Zulu, and other indigenous semi-nomadic pastoral societies at the southern extremity of the East African Cattle Area.

Native³⁶Policy

Three themes characterized Volksraad Native policy in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal: (1) legislation enacted to restrict Natal mobility; (2) proposed Native reserves and forced removal; and (3) laws that limited the number of Natives allowed to legally reside on burgher farms. Restriction of Native mobility was enforced through pass laws, forced and coerced labor, and the outlawing of Native firearm possession or ownership.

Restrict Mobility

In March 1840 the Volksraad decreed that every "gekleurd of vrij persoon³⁷" was required to carry a pass that had to be renewed each month³⁸ (S.A.A.R.:32). Burghers that failed to renew their Native laborers' passes would be fined Rds. 500. Although the Volksraad enacted this pass-law it was apparently either not enforced or simply ignored by farmers because the Volksraad enacted a more comprehensive and restrictive pass-law approximately two years later (Table 14). In fact many facets that constituted this Dutch-Afrikaner pass-law were adopted by the British administration following

³⁶ Dutch-Afrikaner farmers and the Natal Volksraad distinguished among Bosjesmans (San), Port Natal caffers (sic), and Zulu (S.A.A.R.:44).

³⁷ "colored or free [colored] person."

³⁸ I discuss this in Chapter 7.

Table 14

Volksraad Native Pass Law of January 1842

1. Name of Native
2. Estimated Age
3. Distinct Identification Features(s)
4. Number of wives and children
5. Number of cattle
6. Date Pass was issued
7. Place of Residence
8. Signature of his master and the Fieldcornet

Source: Compiled from Notule of Natalse Volksraad

annexation of Natal in 1844. This pass-law stipulated that as of February 1st 1842 every Native employed in Natal had to be issued with a pass that included the following biographical information³⁹ (Table 14). The signature of the burgher issuing the pass as well as that of the fieldcornet who had jurisdiction over the particular ward had to appear on the pass. Registered Natives had to have in their possession at all times a wood and/or tin board (or plate) indicating their name and pass number on the one side and the name of their master on the other side. Although Natives possessing a pass were legal, additional limitations were placed upon their freedom of mobility within Natal. A Native was not permitted to travel on horseback further than two hours from the farm of his master. If Natives intended to exceed this time constraint, a temporary pass issued and signed by their master had to include the following information: their destination and the purpose of the journey. The Native would be charged with loitering (*rondswerver*) if he was unable to produce the pass when requested. Moreover, Natives were free to seek employment elsewhere after two years service with one master. Natives choosing to do so, however, forfeited their passes and

³⁹ The Volksraad issued the following as an example of a pass:

"Pas voor den kaffer genaamd Joob of ook April oud omtrend 40 jaren, is 5 voet 2 duim lang, heef een teken van een snee aan zyn regter arm, woond op de plaats Ramuskraal van J.B. in Uisdoorns, heef by zich syne vrouwen Sabiena en Anna met vier kinderen en 5 beesten" (S.A.A.R.:125).

Translated as: "A pass for the kaffir named Jacob or also April approximately forty years old, about five feet six inches tall, with one distinct identification feature, that is, a cut on his right arm, he lives on the farm of J.B. called Ramuskraal in the vicinity of Uisdoorns, and is accompanied by his wives Sabiena and Anna with their four children and five head of cattle."

had to apply to either the fieldcornet or commandant for a new one. Natives in possession of passes without official signatures (fieldcornet or commandant) or those without their board (or plate) could be apprehended, detained, and allocated to another master by officials. When the commandant-general deemed it necessary, he could extend the carrying of a board (or plate) to Native women and children residing in Natal (S.A.A.R.:124-125). In April 1843, the Volksraad noted that Hottentots (Khoikhoi) were required to leave Natal if unemployed after eight days (S.A.A.R.:177).

The Volksraad feared Native ownership of firearms since these could be used to resist government decrees pertaining to restricting Native mobility and forced removal to locations. Therefore as early as March 1840 the Volksraad ruled that it was illegal for any person of color resident in Natal to own or be in possession of a gun or any firearm. Burghers caught trading these items with Natives were subject to a Rds. 500 fine (S.A.A.R.:31-32). The Volksraad renewed this law in August 1840 which included provision for Native firearm confiscation and deposition in the general coffer (S.A.A.R.:50).

A final method employed to restrict Native mobility was through forced or coerced Native labor. In January 1840, the Congella landdrost was instructed to provide as many "Vry Zwarten"⁴⁰ (S.A.A.R.:30) to labor for the harbor-master at Port Natal. In March 1840 "Boschjemankaffers" (San) were instructed to enter into the service of farmers as punishment for deep trenches they had dug to capture wild game. Each farmer was, however, restricted to five San families (S.A.A.R.:33). In addition, the

⁴⁰ "Free Blacks."

Volksraad Secretary wrote all landdrosts instructing them to announce that all burgher-employed Natives be covered by a labor contract. Labor contracts were limited to one year and no free black could reside in Natal for longer than two weeks without such a contract (S.A.A.R.:34). When the Volksraad deemed it necessary to construct a sod wall to protect the ammunition storage house (kruidhuis) in Pietermaritzburg, the commandant-general was responsible for obtaining Native laborers for the task (S.A.A.R.:86). At the April 1842 meeting, the Volksraad acceded to the landdrost of Weenen and Port Natal's request to coerce unemployed Natives resident within their dorpsgrond (townland) boundaries to labor on public construction and maintenance projects (S.A.A.R.:152).

Native Locations and Forced Removal

Although the Volksraad, upon the recommendation of Port Natal burghers, debated and proposed establishing Native locations, the Native location did not come to fruition during the Dutch-Afrikaner period in Natal. Similarly, forced movement of Natives from one geographical locality to another, associated with the establishment of a location, also yielded bitter-sweet results. Dutch-Afrikaner ideas associated with their unimplemented Native location and forced removal policy were adopted, honed, and implemented by the British colonial administration under the auspices of Theophilus Shepstone⁴¹. A discussion of Dutch-Afrikaner ideas is instructive for comprehending subsequent British responses to accommodating Natives within the Natal settlement system.

⁴¹ I discuss this in chapter 7.

The inhabitants of Port Natal deemed as viable two geographical localities for housing Natives, one in the extreme northern part of Natal, the other on the southern border of the Republic. In response to San and Port Natal Native crime and cattle theft against burghers and the Zulu, the Volksraad proposed in June 1840 establishing a large location, situated between the White Umfolozi and Buffalo Rivers (Figure 24) and bounded by the Drakensberg Mountains inland, for all San and Port Natal Natives. The establishment of said location was contingent on forced removal and Volksraad monitoring, in conjunction with the Zulu King Mpande, through identification of "zekere merkteken van den Raad"⁴² on the bodies of San and Port Natal Natives (S.A.A.R.:44). In August 1840, just before commencement of the spring rains, the Port Natal Natives were instructed not to commence sowing because they were required to move to the aforementioned location called Togelashoek-- literally in the corner formed by the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers as well as the Drakensberg Mountains-- by December 1, 1840 (S.A.A.R.:48 and 49). Eight months later, however, the Volksraad decided that Natives resident in Natal would be accommodated in a location on the Republic's southern border. Therefore the commandant-general was instructed to inform American missionaries and other Port Natal officials that all caffers should reside between the Lova (Illovu) and Omcamas (Umkomaas) Rivers (S.A.A.R.:87) (Figure 24).

This impotent attempt by the Volksraad to rid Natal and the Port Natal district, in particular, of unemployed loitering Natives culminated in two public meetings at the

⁴² "certain unique marks of the Volksraad."

Port Natal dorp where resolutions adopted on June 29, 1841 called for the establishment of a Native Location on the Republic's southern border. The Volksraad responded by promising to attempt to reduce the number of caffers entering the Port Natal district and by encouraging as many Natives as possible to voluntarily remove all their possessions and reside south of the Umsimcoelo (Umzimkulu) River (S.A.A.R.:104). The Port Natal residents responded to the raad's feeble attempts by convening a second public meeting on August 2, 1841. The resolutions taken at this meeting recommended a site for a Native Location on the Republic's southern border and demanded that the Volksraad forcibly move Natives to this site. Later that month the Volksraad responded to these demands by earmarking the land bounded by the Umtafoena (Umtamvuna) and Umsimwobo (Umzimvubu) Rivers for a location as well as stipulating a bevy of paternalistic administrative procedures for governing the Natives resident in this location (S.A.A.R.:106-107) (Figure 24).

Commencing in January 1842, the Volksraad took a more authoritative and brutal tack when dealing with Native removal associated with cattle theft. This was partly attributable to reported Native unrest in the Weenen district. Moreover, after years of persistent burgher complaints followed by Natives ignoring Volksraad requests to forced removal, the Volksraad had reached the end of their tether. Hence after reports of Native restlessness in Weenen coupled with anticipated cattle pilfering, the Volksraad gave the commandant-general sole discretionary power when dealing with Native cattle thieves in the future. In short, the following became Volksraad policy. When cattle thefts occurred, the commandant-general was empowered to arrange a commando and

pursue cattle thieves in the area adjacent to where the thefts occurred. If this meant moving beyond the Republic's boundaries, then the commandant-general was sanctioned to do so. Any Natives fleeing were assumed enemies of the Volksraad, and burghers on commando were permitted to shoot to kill. When any of the stolen cattle were found in possession of Natives, the commandant-general could mete out punishment, force inhabitants of the entire kraal to leave Natal, and destroy their gardens, homes, and any other fixed property (S.A.A.R.:123-124). Finally, the commandant-general would establish procedures for removal of Natives without signed labor contracts from each district and ward (veldcornetschap) in Natal to the designated locality on the Republic's southern border. Forced removal to this area would occur from May until August-- the dry season and prior to commencement of the growing season in September. The Volksraad decided that Natives from Weenen district would be relocated along Blood (Ncome) River located in Zululand (Ibid:124) (Figure 24). In April 1842, the Volksraad reminded the commandant-general, following numerous burgher complaints about their safety, that he should continue with the forced removal of Natives without labor contracts from the Republic (S.A.A.R.:152). Burgher C.P. Landman announced that these Natives would be asked to reside between the Omcamas (Umkomaas) and Omsimcolo (Umzimkulu) Rivers stretching inland for four hours from the sea (S.A.A.R.:155) (Figure 24).

Limitation on Number of Native Families

Limiting the number of Native families permitted to reside on burgher farms within the Republic was a final Volksraad policy used to control a large Native population that

threatened the security of Dutch-Afrikaner inhabitants. In response to complaints of Native loitering, the Volksraad announced in June 1840 that all Native chiefs would be informed at a joint meeting that no more than five Native families would be permitted to reside on burgher farms (S.A.A.R.:43). In August, the Volksraad assented to the commandant-general's request that only he be permitted to have more than five Native families resident on his farm. The commandant-general envisioned keeping these Native families as a surplus labor pool in order to supply burgher labor demands when shortages arose (S.A.A.R.:50).

Occasionally burghers allowed Natives to reside on their farms in exchange for produce rather than labor. Such informal verbal agreements could, however, result in disagreement, misunderstanding, and conflict. Burgher J.P. Mulder's dilemma in April 1842 provides a case in point. Mulder complained to the Volksraad that Natives were squatting on his property. He noted that he had previously granted them permission to reside on his property in return for twenty-four bags of mielies (corn). Although they had delivered the first three bags they now refused to provide the balance of their payment. Mulder therefore deemed that they were residing on his farm illegally (S.A.A.R.:153). Hence, although the Volksraad enacted laws to limit the number of Natives resident in Natal, informal agreements between Native families and burghers created problems that ultimately fell upon the ears of the Volksraad in Pietermaritzburg. As arbiter of the law they had to adjudicate and render decisions without ostracizing their electorate or the Natives who provided labor and posed a threat to the security of the Republic's inhabitants. Although the Natal Volksraad debated and grappled with

Native policy, they were unsuccessful in codifying and implementing a Native location policy as part of a segregated settlement system that they envisioned for Natal. This would have to await the arrival of the British and Theophilus Shepstone, architect of the Native location in theory and practice.

Dutch-Afrikaner Culture Regions

In summarizing, on the eve of British annexation of Dutch-Afrikaner Natal in 1844, the locus of political, economic, and social power was in Pietermaritzburg (Figure 25). From this core Dutch-Afrikaner culture region, legislative settlement decrees enacted by the Natal Volksraad were communicated to outlying primary regions that included Port Natal and Potchefstroom, west of the Drakensberg. Weenen, Congella, Winburg, and Rustenburg are identified as secondary Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions because the influence of settlement decrees emanating from the Pietermaritzburg core on these administrative sub-districts was less pronounced than the core's influence on Port Natal and Potchefstroom, in particular (Figure 25). In short, the Volksraad exercised tight control of settlement expansion and the reproduction of the Dutch-Afrikaner settlement system in the primary Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions of Port Natal and Potchefstroom. This is manifest in the frequency of Volksraad correspondence to these primary Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions. In the former, Volksraad legislative decrees dictated security and mercantile policy while correspondence to the Potchefstroom landdrost was dominated by details pertaining to delimiting dorps and farms, soliciting financial support for the Volksraad's ailing general coffer, and in securing the allegiance of

burghers west of the Berg in defending the Republic from persistent belligerent Anglo threats of occupying Port Natal.

Although the dorpe of Weenen, Congella, Winburg, and Rustenburg were outliers of Dutch-Afrikaner culture, they were of secondary importance in the day-to-day functioning and security of the Republic, and this is evident in the dearth of correspondence from Pietermaritzburg to these secondary Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions. Weenen, in particular, was isolated from the core. The hinterland of these Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions, centered on Pietermaritzburg, Potchefstroom, Port Natal, Weenen, Congella, Winburg, and Rustenburg, constitutes the sphere of Dutch-Afrikaner culture; it was characterized by extensive open-range pastoralism where the centrality of livestock in the everyday lives of burghers was paramount. The institutions that constituted Dutch-Afrikaner culture in the core, primary, secondary and sphere regions were continually challenged and penetrated on three fronts by other ethno-cultural societies, namely the San, Zulu, and Anglo (Figure 25). The commando; social engineering strategies, including pass-laws, labor contracts, and envisioned Native locations; as well as the erection of defensive structures were responses to the challenges on these three fronts respectively and became part and parcel of the Dutch-Afrikaner settlement system.

COLONIAL NATAL 1838 TO 1880: THE MAKING OF A SOUTH AFRICAN
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CHAPTER 6

BRITISH NATAL: IMPLANTATIONS

"...the right of the present possessors [British] to the territory [Natal], resting on both cession [from King Shaka] and conquest [of the Dutch], is perhaps as complete as any territorial right can possibly be" (Bergtheil circa 1850's:10).

Introduction

The colonization and settlement of Natal following annexation by the British in 1844 may be viewed as one strand in the web of imperialistic outreach when the British Empire was at its zenith. The capture of Natal came at a time when the British government pursued colonization with renewed fervor, a little more than a half century after the loss of the American colonies. In the interim, the British had retracted from colonization endeavors, partly because of the humiliating experience and memory of events that characterized the American Revolution and partly because of the great expenditure needed to wage the Napoleonic Wars. Moreover, the systematic colonization model of the colonial reformers had been conceived, refined, and implemented in other colonies including Australia and New Zealand approximately a decade before Natal entered the Empire's fold. In Natal, the principles of systematic colonization, although in modified form, were adhered to and are evident in the settlement models discussed in this chapter. The settlement model of Joseph Byrne is the quintessential example of how tinkering with an idealized settlement model is expressed in new settings. In addition, I discuss settlement models (1844 to 1879), in general, and the models of Jonas Bergtheil and the Natal Land and Colonization Company, in particular. The second part of the chapter discusses settlement expansion.

The magisterial district is identified as the geographical framework for locating towns and alienating land in farms. The location and timing of urban places and the increase in settled area are also considered. In the final section of this chapter, I consider settler source regions. I commence with a discussion of conditions in nineteenth century Britain as a contextual backdrop to comprehending the geography of immigration, including periods of immigration, the number of immigrants arriving as well as their source regions. I conclude this section with three settler vignettes as representative examples of British stock who either sojourned, proselytized, or made Natal their home.

Settlement Template

Immigration and colonization and settlement models went hand-in-hand in British Natal. To be sure, many settlement models espoused by the colonial government as well as private entrepreneurs from 1844 until 1879 made provision for the cost of embarkation from Britain, specified particular land parcel sizes, and determined the morphology of colonial settlement models in Natal. A discussion of settlement models for the period under study is followed by a detailed presentation of three settlement models, namely, those espoused by (1) Joseph Byrne (1849-1851), (2) Jonas Bergtheil and the Natal Cotton Company (circa late 1850's), and (3) the Natal Land and Colonization Company (circa 1866).

Settlement Models

Settlement Models: 1844 to 1879

Broadly speaking we may distinguish between government (ie. colonial Natal) and private settlement models and identify three periods of immigration. The settlement

models discussed here are those proposed during three time periods: (1) from 1846 until 1856; (2) during the 1860's; and (3) during the 1870's (See Table 15-17)¹. The majority of private immigration and settlement models were espoused, planned, and implemented during the period 1846 until 1856 (Table 15). The reasons for this were twofold. In the first instance, Natal was a young colony in desperate need of white settlers. Hence, entrepreneurs were encouraged to plan, finance, and implement settlement models. Although this endeavor appeared to be decentralized and independent of Imperial and local Natal government intervention, the choice of British immigrants, their passage money, and general immigration logistics were regulated by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners² located in London (hereafter C.L.& E.C.). Secondly, assisted government immigration and settlement was predominant following Natal's being granted representative government in 1856. Hence, private settlement models during the 1860's and 1870's played second fiddle to the assisted government scheme spearheaded by the Legislative Council and the Natal Board of Immigration in conjunction with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners under the auspices of the Colonial Secretary in London.

A total of fourteen settlement models are identified during the first time periods ending in 1856³. It should be noted that four of these settlement models were paper-

¹ See The Geography of Immigration section of this chapter where I identify three distinct periods of immigration, discuss the number of settlers arriving during these periods as well as their general source regions.

² The C.L.& E.C. was established in 1840.

³ This number excludes the Byrne scheme of 1849 to 1851 which is discussed in the following section.

Table 15

Summary of Immigration and Settlement Models: 1846 to 1856

YEAR	NAME	NUMBER OF SETTLERS	LOCATION	ORIGIN
1846	Mr Fynn	?	?	Cape Colony
1848	Jonas Bergtheil (Cotton Scheme)	189	Westville New Germany	Bremen
	Natal Cotton Co.	15-28	Umhloti River	Cape Colony & U.K.
	James E. Methley	?	Umgeni River	?
	Wilhelm Kuhn	-	-	Hamburg & Bremen
	Patrick Maxwell		-	-
1849-51	William J. Irons	400	Verulam	U.K. (Yorkshire)
1849	J.S. Christopher	10	Umkomaas River	U.K.
1849-50	Thomas Lidgett	150-200	Lidgett's Town	?
1850	Jonas Bergtheil	-	New England New Scotland	U.K.
	Henry Boast & Lund	216-248	York	York
	Duke of Beaulieu	?	Richmond	Beaulieu & Hampshire
	G.P. Murdoch	137	Umhloti River	London
1850-51	Richard Hackett	109-134	Karkloof	London
	<u>PRIVATE FARMERS:</u>			
1848	C. Behrens	?	?	Germany
1848	J. Kinghurst	?	?	?
1849	Thomas Phipson	?	?	?
1850	John J. Jackson	?	?	?
1852	Meek	?	?	?
1855	Alexander McCorkindale	22 boys	?	U.K reformatories

Source: Compiled from 1934; Hammond 1926; Bagwandeem 1974;
and McCracken 1962

? - Unknown Settlers, Location and Origin

Table 16

Immigration and Settlement Models: 1860's

YEAR	NAME	NUMBER OF SETTLERS	LOCATION	ORIGIN
1864	A. Harvey	?	Durban- Pietermaritzburg Road	?
1864-67	E.L. Chiappini	Few	Remote area	Cape Colony
1866	Jonas Bergtheil	?	30 x 3,000 acre farms	Europe, Family Immigration
1867	Colin Hunter & Behrens	?	?	England
1866-67	Discharged Soldiers	74	?	U.K. & British Empire

Source: Compiled from Bagwandeen 1974

? - Unknown Settlers, Location and Origin

Table 17

Immigration and Settlement Models: 1870's

YEAR	NAME	NUMBER OF SETTLERS	LOCATION	ORIGIN
1869	J.W. Welborne	–	–	–
1871–72	Immigrants' Aid Office	?	?	?
1872	Monsieur Adolphe de Terrasson	?	?	Reunion
1876–77	Monsieur Adolphe de Terrasson	73	?	French & Italian
1877	Ottowitt & F.L. Fristedt	?	Upper Umkomaas & Umzimkulu	Sweden

Source: Compiled from Bagwandeen 1974

Note:

? – Unknown Settlers, Location and Origin

schemes; proposed in theory, written and spoken about at length, but never implemented. Wilhelm Kuhn and Patrick Maxwell's models of 1848 as well as J.S. Christopher's 1845 scheme and Jonas Bergtheil's 1850 proposal are cases in point (Table 15). Similarly, Harvey's (1864), Bergtheil's (1866), and Hunter and Behrens' (1867) models during the 1860's and J.W. Welborne's (1870) and the Swedish Lutheran Church's (1877) proposals during the 1870's never reached fruition [Table 16 and 17]. These settlement models were, however, important in stimulating debate and conveying settler sentiments to the Natal Executive Council concerning the Colony's immigration and settlement needs. Immigrants arriving in Natal under these private schemes were settled in villages including: New Germany, Verulam, York, Richmond, Karkloof, and Lidgatown (Lidgett's Town) (Figure 1). Moreover, settlers during this period hailed from Bremen and Hamburg, Germany; Butterworth and other locations in the Cape Colony; and from many places in the United Kingdom, including East Riding, Yorkshire (and York in particular), Hampshire, and Glasgow (Ralls 1934 and McCracken 1962:219)⁴. Although these individual settlement models differed, they adhered to the principal of compact agricultural settlements advocated by the Colonial Reformers. Therefore a town or village, surrounded by settlers engaged in crop agriculture on land-parcels that ranged from 20 to 120 acres, was envisioned for each agricultural settlement. In addition to these large-scale private endeavors, established colonists arranged for immigration of laborers to Natal. Messrs. Meek (1852), John

⁴ I discuss the number of settler's and their source regions in greater detail in the last part of this chapter.

James Jackson (1850), C. Behrens, J. Kinghurst (both 1848), and Thomas Phipson (1849) were involved in such arrangements (Table 15). In a similar vein, Alexander McCorkindale was responsible for the settlement of 22 boys from English reformatories in Natal during 1855 (McCracken 1962:216-217).

Five settlement models are identified during the 1860's and an additional four during the 1870's (Table 16 and 17). E.L. Chiappini, a resident of the Cape Colony, introduced a few mechanics and laborers from the Cape Colony between 1864 and 1867 (Bagwandeem 1974:52 and 56). The most successful venture during the 1860's was that of the Natal Legislative Council. The Legislative Council envisioned settling discharged soldiers "...from Her Majesty's service in the United Kingdom or any part of Her Majesty's Dominion..." (Bagwandeem 1974:64) in Natal. Soldiers were to be granted rural landholdings of either 50- or 25-acres (coastal location) each as well as an urban cadastre. Moreover, the title-deeds to rural and urban landholdings would be issued after 8 and 2 years continuous occupation, respectively (Bagwandeem 1974:65-66). However, only approximately 74 statute adults were introduced to the colony under this settlement model (Bagwandeem 1974:69).

During the 1870's the Immigrants' Aid Office (1871-72) and Monsieur Adolphe de Terrasson (1872-77) were instrumental in facilitating immigration and settlement to Natal. The Immigrants' Aid Office was a volunteer settler organization that was established in 1871 to facilitate immigration to Natal when the flow of migrants had reached an ebb. Although this organization was dissolved circa 1872, when Government Assisted immigration was resumed, it continued to function without

financial assistance until 1878. The Immigrants' Aid Office advocated the need for skilled labor, including artisans and planters, as well as the need for public works. The 72 settlers coming to Natal under the direction of De Terrasson, a resident of Stella, Natal from 1850-56, in 1877 hailed from Reunion (Bourbon), France, and Italy (Bagwandeem 1974:110 and 113).

The efforts of private immigration scheme and settlement model advocates spanning the approximately 30-year period from 1846 until 1879 were inhibited by government intervention at both the local colonial and Imperial levels⁵. Four examples illustrate the institutional constraints that entrepreneurs encountered in attempting to implement their immigration and settlement models. The net result of government intervention was a dearth of white settlers; the converse of the colonial governments' desire. First, in 1866 the Natal Colonial government rejected Jonas Bergtheil's settlement model advocating sheep farming on 3000-acre farms in the upper districts of the colony. Bergtheil proposed introducing 100 European family immigrants possessing approximately 1,000 pound sterling each (Bagwandeem 1974:57-58). Moreover, Welbourne's persistent attempts (1869-72) to inaugurate settlement in tandem with railway construction and hence the economic development of the colony never came to fruition because the Colonial Secretary in London was not convinced that his model would work (Bagwandeem 1974:101-110). Similarly, the colonization efforts of Otto

⁵ See Figure 28, a schematic representation of the administrative structures responsible for administering and facilitating immigration as well as the discussion pertaining to these official immigration bodies in the last section of this chapter. The number of immigrants arriving in Natal is also presented in the last section of this chapter.

Witt and F.L. Fristedt of the Swedish Lutheran Church to settle Swedish immigrants on 100-acre landholdings between the Upper Umkomanzi and Umzimkulu rivers in 1877-78 were stumped by the Natal Land and Immigration Board (Bagwandeen 1974:115-116). Finally, De Terrasson's enthusiastic and energetic efforts to introduce 5,000 French settlers from 1872-77 were snubbed by the Natal Executive Council and Lieutenant-Governor Sir Henry Bulwer, in particular in, 1876 (Bagwandeen 1974:110-115). As mentioned previously, he eventually only introduced 72 immigrants in 1877. In short, the Natal Government kicked a willing horse when they asserted that they had insufficient capital to finance De Terrasson's venture. Moreover, as was the case with Bergtheil's settlement models of the late 1840's and early 1850's, the Natal Government opposed the introduction of French and German settlers out of fear that they would assimilate with the Dutch-Afrikaner inhabitants (Ralls 1934:40 and 48-49).

Joseph Byrne

Joseph Byrne's agricultural settlement model (1849-51) was a modified version of the Colonial Reformer's model that specified compact agricultural settlement for the British Colonies. Byrne came to the following agreement with the C.L.& E.C.'s concerning purchase of Crown Land in Natal and regulations governing the conveyance of immigrants to Natal (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3: 135-136 and 136-137⁶). For each 1,000 pounds sterling that Byrne deposited to the credit of the Colonial Land and Emigration Board in the Bank of England, he was entitled to purchase land at the

⁶ "Emigration Commissioners confirm Byrne's proposals and assure him of their co-operation" (January 6th, 1849:135-136); and "Byrne clarifies certain details for Emigration Commissioners" (January 17th, 1849:136-137).

government regulated price of 4 shillings per acre in Natal. In addition, for each approved (by the C.L. & E.C.) adult and child conveyed to Natal, the Commissioners agreed to pay Byrne 10 and 5 pounds sterling, respectively, upon receipt of a landing certificate and confirmation of settlement from the Natal government. Moreover, upon arrival in Natal each approved adult immigrant would be given 20-acres while children would be granted 5-acres each. Byrne agreed not to charge more than 10 pounds sterling for an adult steerage passage or more than 5 pounds for children. Finally, Byrne anticipated depositing a total of 5,000 pounds for which he was entitled to receive 25,000 acres at 4 shillings per acre (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:131-133, and 137-142⁷; Christopher 1969:489). Hence, for every 1,000 pounds deposited, Byrne would be granted 5,000 acres. Moreover, Byrne was guaranteed his 1,000 pounds, namely, 10 pounds for each of the 100 immigrants conveyed and settled as well as 3,000 acres after each immigrant was granted 20-acres (ie. total of 2,000 out of 5,000 acres).

Byrne⁸, the son of a Dublin cattle dealer, was responsible for the introduction of approximately 2,704 British immigrants between 1849 and 1850 (McCracken 1962:211 and Clark 1972:209-210). Hammond (1923:30) contends that 1,086 Byrne immigrants

⁷ This correspondence concerning Byrne's settlement model included: "Byrne renews application to British Government, and explains alterations in proposed scheme" (December 18th, 1848:131-133); and "Circular distributed by Byrne to explain his scheme" (n.d.:137-142).

⁸ The pivotal role of Joseph Byrne in the immigration and settlement annals of Natal has been written about in much detail. Pertinent publications include: Enid Hammond's (1926) masters thesis entitled, "Settlement of the Byrne immigrants in Natal, 1849-1852"; "The British Settlement of Natal 1848-1851: A Geographical Appraisal" by A.J. Christopher (1969); and John Clark's monograph (1972) entitled, *Natal Settler-Agent The Career of John Moreland agent for the Byrne emigration-scheme of 1849-51*.

had left Britain for Natal by December 31st 1849⁹. These immigrants departed from the following ports: 869 from London, 99 from Plymouth, and 118 from Glasgow (Hammond 1923:30). Moreover, during the course of 1850, approximately 1,515 additional Byrne settlers landed at Port Natal¹⁰. Most of the immigrants introduced by Byrne between 1849-51 hailed from urban areas, particularly those in northern Britain. With the exception of London, source regions for settlers from depressed industrial northern Britain included: Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Hull¹¹ (Hammond 1923:100).

We now turn to the geographical settlement of the Byrne immigrants in Natal (See Table 18 and Figure 26 a and b). Byrne purchased 12 estates, located in midland and coastal Natal, that comprised an area of 97,091 acres. However, since the Victoria and Pietermaritzburg Lots remained unused, only ten of the twelve estates were occupied and developed. The size of individual estates ranged from 2,140 acres (New England)

⁹ This figure quoted in the text of Hammond's thesis does not square with the total of 954 immigrants listed in Appendix A of her thesis. The 954 immigrants listed in this appendix are derived from the return of immigrants introduced into Natal by Byrne that was compiled by George MacLeroy, Government Immigration Agent on October 25th, 1850 (Hammond 1923:103). Hammond does not explain the discrepancy between her figures quoted in the text and appendix respectively.

¹⁰ Clark (1972:209-210) asserts that 965 and 1,739 Byrne settlers arrived in Natal during 1849 and 1850 respectively.

¹¹ Figures on the number of settlers introduced under the Byrne scheme vary considerably. Clark's figure of 2,704 is exceeded by McCracken's (1962:213) estimate of 3,310 but is not as conservative as Hammond's 2,469 (1926:87 and 103). Clark and Hammond's estimates are probably more accurate than that of McCracken's. Clark's estimate exceeds Hammond's because Clark included settlers brought out under the auspices of W.J. Irons and the Christian Emigration and Colonization Society as well as settlers brought out by the Duke of Buccleuch but who travelled on nine of Byrne's 20 ships between 1849 and 1850.

Table 18

Summary of the Byrne Settlement Model

ESTATE	TOTAL AREA	RURAL AREA	URBAN AREA	TOWNS/ VILLAGES	TOTAL # OF RURAL PLOTS
Vaalkop and Dadelfontein	10,864	10,824	40	Thornville	122
Beaulieu	11,309	10,642	667	Richmond	196
Dunbar	9,168	8,968	200	Byrne	169
Harmony	7,301	7,301	0	-	159
Little Harmony	4,380	4,240	140	Byrne	50
Slang Spruit	2,882	2,882	0	-	79
New England	2,140	2,140	0	-	45
Cotton Lands	22,779	17,746	5033	Mount Moreland New Glasgow Verulam	208
Victoria Lots 44-47	2,422	2,422	0	-	27
Victoria Lots 31 etc.	4,419	4,419	0	-	43
Victoria Lots unused	7,549	7,549	0	-	0
Pietermatizburg Lots unused	11,878	11,878	0	-	0
TOTAL	97,091	91,011	6,080	7	1,098

Source: Compiled from Christopher 1969b; Hammond 1926; and Clark 1972

(table cont'd)

Table 18

ESTATE	TOTAL # OF PLOTS ABANDONED/ UNOCCUPIED	% OF PLOTS ABANDONED/ UNOCCUPIED	NUMBER OF 20 - ACRE PLOTS
Vaalkop and Dadelfontein	51	42	66
Beaulieu	88	45	105
Dunbar	94	56	73
Harmony	101	64	73
Little Harmony	33	66	25
Slang Spruit	38	48	33
New England	10	22	24
Cotton Lands	26	13	23
Victoria Lots 44-47	17	63	0
Victoria Lots 31 etc.	11	26	16
Victoria Lots unused	0	0	0
Pietermatizburg Lots unused	0	0	0
TOTAL	469	45 %	438

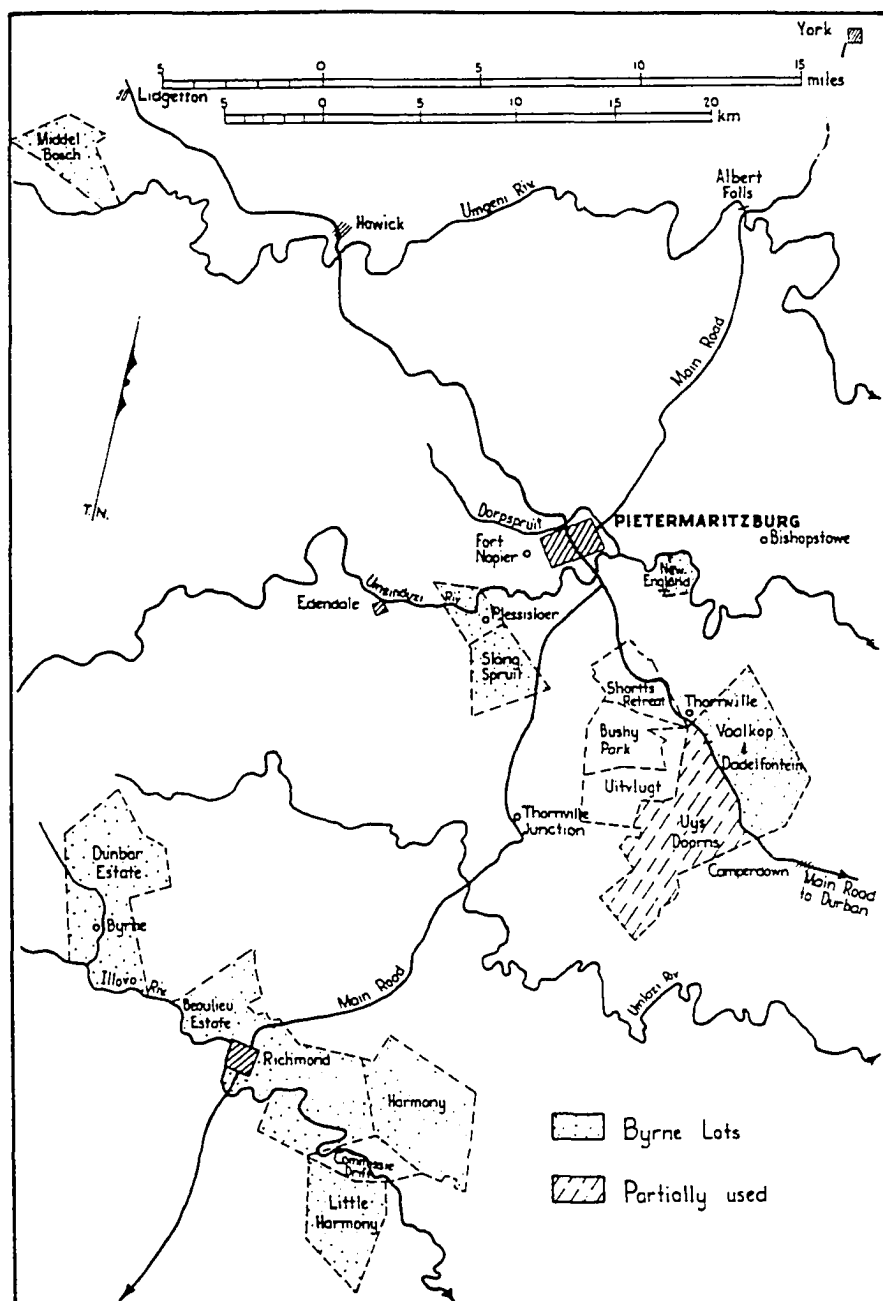


Figure 26(a) Location of the Byrne Estates: Pietermaritzburg and Richmond Areas
Source: Clark 1972

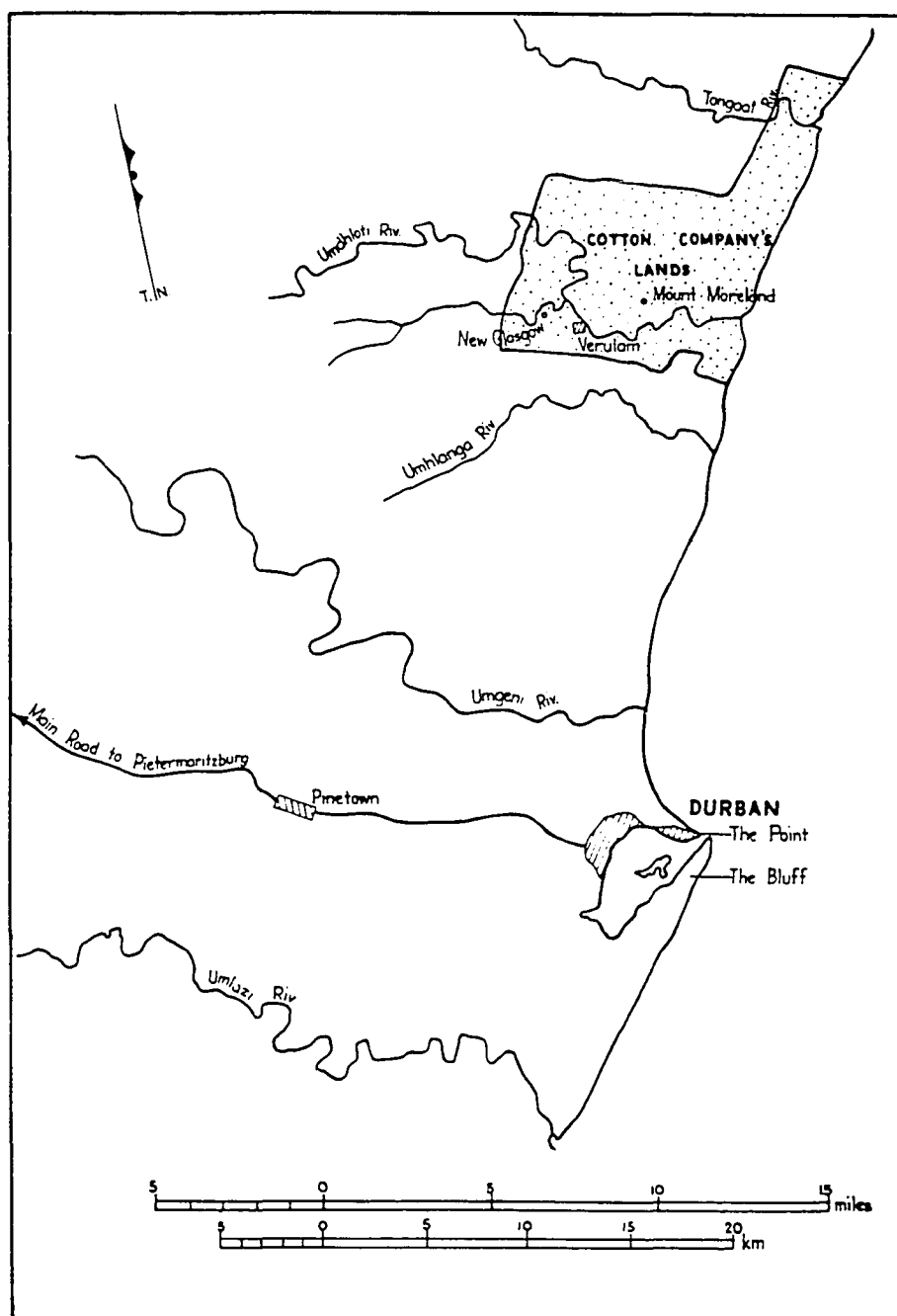


Figure 26(b) Location of the Byrne Estates: Cotton Company Lands
Source: Clark 1972

to 22,779 acres (Cotton Lands). The names of two estates, namely, Vaalkop/Dadelfontein and Slang Spruit as well as the extensiveness of all the estates, in general, reflect Dutch-Afrikaner antecedents and are indicative of the process whereby extensive estates were acquired. These estates were previously Dutch-Afrikaner pastoral runs that were acquired by the Natal Government following British annexation of Natal and mass-migration of Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists to the South African interior. Renaming of estates including Victoria, Beaulieu, New England, and Dunbar reflect Anglo royalty, nobility, source region, and common names. Similarly, attempts to re-create upper class British society and English places in Natal are manifest in the town names of Richmond and Verulam as well as New Glasgow and Byrne respectively. Thornville and Mount Moreland, by contrast, reflect adaptation and the role of Byrne's Agent John Moreland in the colonization and settlement process. The emphasis on compact agricultural settlement is evident from the allocation of 91,011 acres for agricultural purposes, in contrast to only 6,080 acres earmarked for towns and/or villages. Seven villages were planned, platted, and laid-out; three of the seven, namely, Verulam, New Glasgow, and Mount Moreland, were located on the extensive Cotton Lands estate (Figure 26b) which Byrne had purchased following Bergtheil and the Natal Cotton Company's forfeiture of this coastal estate.

The relative success of the Byrne agricultural settlement model may be assessed by considering the proportion of rural (agricultural) plots that were either abandoned or remained unoccupied circa 1852. A threefold categorization of settlement success, defined as most, moderately, and least successful, is postulated. Hence, on the one

extreme the Cotton Lands (13%), New England (22%) and Victoria Lots 31 etc. (26%) estates are identified as the most successful agricultural settlements while Little Harmony (66%), Harmony (64%), and Victoria Lots 44-47 estates (63%) on the other extreme were the least successful. The remaining four estates-- Dunbar (56%), Slang Spruit (48%), Beaulieu (45%), and Vaalkop/Dadelfontein (42%)-- are designated as moderately successful agricultural settlements. Moreover, since only 438 (40%) of the total 1,098 agricultural plots measured 20-acres in extent, it appears that Byrne's settlement model prescribing 20-acre landholdings was modified. This modification was most pronounced on the Cotton Lands estate and least obvious on the New England estate. To be sure, only 23 (11%) of the 208 rural plots on the Cotton Lands met the 20-acre specification while 24 (53%) of the 45 agricultural landholdings on the New England estate were 20-acres in extent. In conclusion Byrne's settlement model failed to create flourishing agricultural communities clustered around agricultural villages. During the latter part of 1850, MacLeroy reported that only between 70 and 80 acres were under cultivation on the Byrne estates. Of this acreage, half was recorded at Beaulieu Estate on the Illovu River with the remainder divided between Verulam, Victoria, and other parts of the Cotton Lands Estate (Hammond 1923:88). The Byrne scheme was a success in that approximately 3,000 additional settlers were introduced to the Colony between 1849-1851 and an additional seven villages/towns were established (Hammond 1923:63-66 and Clark 1972). Richmond and Verulam were the two most permanent towns with 200 and 300 white settlers in 1859 respectively (Hammond 1923:96).

Jonas Bergtheil's Models¹²

Jonas Bergtheil, a Bavarian Jew, proposed at least five different settlement models between 1848 and 1866. Bergtheil, in partnership with Philip Jung and Hippolyte Jargal, established the Natal Cotton Company in 1847 which proposed its first immigration and settlement model in 1848. The Company was eventually dissolved by Bergtheil in 1850 (Bergtheil n.d.:17 and Braithwaite 1989:47). The objective of this and Bergtheil's 1847 and 1850 settlement models was to introduce immigrants, particularly of German stock, and to promote cotton cultivation in coastal colonial Natal. Bergtheil's suggestions circa the mid-1850's and in 1866, by contrast, emphasized mixed-farming subsistence and pastoral settlement models respectively. These two latter models reflect a shift in Bergtheil's earlier utopian proposals of planting commercially-orientated cotton communities in coastal Natal.

Wandsbeck-New Germany Model:1847

In 1847 Bergtheil purchased a 15,500 acre farm named Wandsbeck from Edmund Morewood in coastal Natal just north-west of Port Natal. In 1850, this estate was renamed Westville, and was the site for the town of Westville named for Lieutenant-Governor Martin West (Figure 1). Because Bergtheil failed to recruit immigrants from England, Scotland, and Bavaria, he travelled to Bremen, Osnabruck, and Bramshe where economic instability associated with the Industrial Revolution was "pushing"

¹² Bergtheil's role in the settlement geography of Natal has been discussed by R.E. Ralls (1934) in chapter 4 and 5 of his masters thesis entitled, "Early Immigration Schemes in Natal, 1846-1853"; by D. Bagwandeen (1974:2-3 and 56-60) in his masters thesis titled, "European immigration into Natal, 1862 to 1884"; and by Merle-Anne Braithwaite (1989) in an article titled, "The Bergtheil Settlers".

people abroad (Braithwaite 1989:46). In all 35 families totalling 189 German immigrants departed from Bremen harbor in November 1847 and arrived at Port Natal in March 1848 (Bergtheil n.d.:18 and Braithwaite 1989:46).

The salient feature of Bergtheil's settlement model included granting each family 210 English acres; 200 acres for cotton cultivation and the remaining 10 acres for raising subsistence staples including vegetables (Bergtheil n.d.:18). In addition, immigrants were required to cultivate, with the aid of Native laborers, at least 50 acres per annum; cotton seed as well as a house or tent was provided by the proprietor (Bergtheil n.d.:19). Families paid for their landholdings by giving the Company one-third of their gross cotton and produce proceeds for a period of five years. Six of the thirty-six German families settled at Wandsbeck while the majority moved further inland to the 5,500 acre New Germany estate (Bagwandeem 1974:3 and Braithwaite 1989:47-48) (Figure 1). Raising cotton at Wandsbeck and New Germany proved difficult, and the majority of immigrants abandoned this enterprise and replaced it with market gardening which proved more profitable in the short term. The success of market-gardening and a slightly modified Bergtheil settlement model, characterized by a threefold morphology was described by the editor of the *Natal Witness* who toured New Germany circa 1848:

All [farms] that we passed had houses, with glazed windows,- or sashes ready for glazing,- and appeared to contain at least three apartments. A temporary out-kitchen is generally a feature in the establishment. Near the house stands the cattle kraal, and round the dwelling, the garden, carefully laid out, and stocked with vegetables, indicates taste, industry, and contentment. Besides this there are on each property a considerable number of acres under cultivation. In some instances fencing was commenced, and the garden ground was generally enclosed...(cited in Bergtheil n.d.:21-22).

By the end of 1849 the idea of monocultural cotton cultivation at New Germany were abandoned. The community henceforth concentrated on mixed farming including raising Indian corn, potatoes, and numerous vegetables for subsistence purposes as well as the commercial market demands of the military establishment and of newly arrived immigrants struggling to establish themselves in a new home (Bergtheil n.d.:25). Later some of these German families migrated further inland and settled Cato Ridge, New Hanover, and Wartburg in midland Natal (Braithwaite 1989 and McCracken 1951:43).

The 1848 Natal Cotton Company and Bergtheil (1850) Models

These two settlement models and immigration endeavors were less successful than Bergtheil's efforts at Westville and New Germany, in particular. The Natal Cotton Company directed by Messrs. Chiappini, Bergtheil, Jung, and Suffert purchased 22,779 acres on the Umhloti River (Figure 26b) at 2 shillings per acre in May 1848 (McCracken 1962:208-209 and Ralls 1934:54)¹³. Although cultivation of cotton as envisioned did not materialize, approximately 43 immigrants, 28 from the Cape Colony and 15 from the United Kingdom were introduced to the geographical area on the Umhloti River where the town of Verulam was founded in 1850 (McCracken 1962:209 and Ralls 1934:51). Similarly, Bergtheil's 1850 scheme to settle British immigrants on 150-acre New England and New Scotland estate plots where they would grow cotton for British markets did not materialize. Because of financing problems this settlement model was relegated to "titular" status.

¹³ McCracken (1951:209) asserts that the Company was granted 22,750 acres. It was noted previously that the Cotton Lands Estate was 22,779 acres in extent. Hence, Rall's figure is more accurate than McCracken's.

Bergtheil's Model Circa Mid-1850's

Undaunted by the failure of his 1850 endeavor, Bergtheil published his "Plan of Emigration to Natal on the system of Association..." in the mid-1850's (Bergtheil n.d.:1-32). Under this plan, Bergtheil proposed planting English settler village-communities on tracts of 3,000-15,000 acre estates. These estates were previously Dutch-Afrikaner farms now in the Crown's possession. Bergtheil suggested that 30-50 English families purchase such estates at less than 4 shillings per acre. At four shillings per acre, families paying between the recommended 25 and 35 pounds were entitled to between 125 and 175 acres each. Moreover, he recommended that these estates be settled by farmers and mechanics and that each estate have a minister, schoolmaster, and doctor. In terms of settlement morphology, Bergtheil postulated a threefold model. First, a village consisting of one acre cadastral should be laid-out and a reed hut constructed on each lot at one pound per hut. Thereafter arable farms of 120-150 acres each would be demarcated. Initially farmers would be encouraged to grow potatoes, mealies (Indian corn), peas, beans, and other vegetables for subsistence while simultaneously experimenting to see what was most profitable. Finally at least 2,000 acres, in a 6,000 acre estate, should be reserved as commonage where for "a small fixed contribution per head" (Bergtheil n.d.:28) settlers were permitted to graze oxen, sheep, cows and horses. The extent of the commonage should be proportional to the size of the estate; Bergtheil suggested a 1:3 ratio (Bergtheil n.d.:26-29).

This initial model was later slightly modified by Bergtheil because of limited success at the New England estate. The New England estate actually consisted of two farms,

namely, Kruys Fontein and Weltevreiden that together totaled 12,026 acres. Elements included in the modified model were: (1) upon payment of 10 pounds passage money each immigrant received a one acre town allotment on the New England estate, (2) the use of 1,000 acres of forested land for grazing and obtaining wood, and (3) settler choice to purchase any quantity of the 12,000 acres "at a moderate price to be agreed upon with the resident agent of the estate" (Bergtheil n.d.:31).

Bergtheil's 1866 Sheep Raising Model

Bergtheil envisioned establishing a company that would purchase 100 farms, each 3,000 acres in extent in the upper districts of Natal. When in possession of said farms Bergtheil's agent in Britain would advertise for 100 farming families each in possession of not less than 1,000 pounds sterling to emigrate as sheep farmers to Natal. The Company undertook to pay half their passage money and upon arrival in Natal immigrants would be granted a 3,000 acre farm, they would be conveyed to their pastoral landholdings and there provided with a number of sheep. From said date they were under contract for ten years during which time the Company would, after deducting 6% interest on their capital invested, divide annual profits with the farmer. Unfortunately Bergtheil's model was not sanctioned by the local Government (Bagwandeen 1974:56-60).

The Natal Land and Colonization Company

The role of the Natal Land and Colonization Company in promoting immigration and settlement between 1861 and 1866 has been dealt with at length by scholars. The N.L. & C.C. was incorporated in 1861 by a group of London financiers and Cape

merchants. A total of 400 shareholders in England enabled the Company to commence with 225, 000 pounds and acquire 250,000 acres in 1861 (Bagwandeem 1974:31 and Christopher 1974:49). The N.L. & C.C. continued to acquire additional land from Natal settlers who accepted shares in the Company instead of cash for their estates. Through this process the Company's holdings increased to about 500,000 acres by 1870 and holdings reached their zenith of approximately 700,000 acres during the early 1870's. By the end date of this study, the N.L. & C.C. land holdings were slightly greater than their 1870 figure of 500,000 acres (Christopher 1974:50).

The director of the N.L. & C.C. was particularly critical of government assisted immigration. He emphasized that government regulation in Natal and Britain limited the amount of money available for immigration, cost the colony approximately 8 pounds for each adult introduced, and restricted immigration to Natal settler friends and relatives who nominated kith and kin in Britain (Bagwandeem 1974:33-36). The N.L. & C.C. asserted that their plan would overcome the aforementioned government constraints because they anticipated promoting immigration and settlement independent of government institutional regulations (ie. Natal Board of Immigration and C.L. & E.C.). Their settlement model proposed in 1862 advocated (1) introducing agriculturalists and working class immigrants from Britain; (2) erecting an immigration reception center at Port Natal that would provide temporary accommodation to immigrants; (3) appointing an agent to co-ordinate and plan immigration logistics from departure until settlement in Natal (Ibid:36-37); and the (4) dissemination of information

in Britain pertaining to the Colony¹⁴. This 1862 N.L. & C.C. model focussed on immigration logistics, which had been previously neglected and resulted in immigrant hardship and concomitant settlement failure.

In 1862 this proposal was communicated to the Secretary of State in London who forwarded it for Lieutenant-Governor Scott's perusal and comment (Ibid:38). In short, the Company's proposal was rejected by the Secretary of State on March 7th, 1863 upon the recommendation of the Natal Board of Immigration and Lieutenant-Governor Scott who were supported by the Emigration Commissioners in London (Bagwandeem 1974:39 and 44) (Figure 28 in the last section of this chapter). The Natal Board of Immigration contended that the system of government assisted immigration they controlled worked satisfactorily while Scott opposed the N.L. & C.C. model because it smacked of Byrne's granting land in bonuses which had failed dismally a decade earlier¹⁵ (Bagwandeem 1974:39). Moreover, the Emigration Commissioners, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Natal Board of Immigration concurred that "...promiscuous and over-abundant [N.L. & C.C.] immigration would [flood] the labour market of the Colony" (Bagwandeem 1974:40).

In 1865 the government showed renewed interest in the N.L. & C.C.'s earlier proposal when immigration to Natal was languishing. In 1866 the Company responded

¹⁴ Pertinent secondary sources include: "Land, Labour and Capital in Natal: The Natal Land and Colonization Company 1860-1948" by Slater (1975:257-283); "The Natal Land and Colonization Company in Colonial Times" by Christopher (1974:49-54); and chapter 4 of Bagwandeem's masters thesis (1974:31-49).

¹⁵ See the last section of this chapter for a discussion of government assisted immigration between 1857 and 1868.

by publishing a "Plan of Assisted Emigration and Land Settlement of the Natal Land and Colonization Company (Limited)" (N.L. & C.C. 1866:1-48) that emphasized the morphology of their settlement model rather than immigration logistics. In addition, the Company proposed that settlers could either lease or rent landholdings within their threefold geographical settlement model over a period of 7, 14, or 21 years. Details of the purchasing and rental agreement are of secondary importance for the purposes of this discussion; the morphology of the N.L. & C.C.'s threefold settlement model is the objective. Their model is instructive in that a distinction is made between "up-country", "mid-country", and "coast-land" farms in the Colony. The N.L. & C.C. owned 46 "up-country farms" that were "adapted for grazing, pastoral, and agricultural purposes" (N.L. & C.C. 1866:29). These farms, covering an area of 152,874 acres, were located in four counties: Pietermaritzburg (19 farms totalling 52,956 acres); Weenen (9 farms totalling 42,805 acres); Klip River (11 farms totalling 39,107 acres); and Umvoti (7 farms totalling 18,006 acres) (Ibid:34). The largest farm (8,272 acres) was Deel Drift located in Weenen County while the smallest (1,226 acres) was Beauvale located in Klip River County. Rental and purchase prices over the 21-year period ranged from between 5 pence to 3 shillings per acre and 10 shillings 6 pence to 30 shillings per acre respectively (Ibid:30).

The N.L. & C.C. defined their seven "mid-country farms" as "adapted for cultivation of cotton, tobacco, Indian corn, ...other grain crops and garden produce, and for grazing" (Ibid:30). All seven farms, ranging from Sterkspruit (6,069 acres) to Vaalkop (200 acres), were located in Pietermaritzburg County and comprised an area

of 17,405 acres (Ibid:34). These farms were slightly more expensive to rent or purchase than up-country farms. Rental prices ranged from between 1 shilling 6 pence and 6 shillings per acre while purchase prices ranged from between 22 shillings 6 pence and 60 shillings per acre (Ibid:30). "Coast-land farms" included farms "adapted for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, and other tropical produce" (Ibid:31). The N.L. & C.C.'s fourteen coastal landholdings comprised an area of about 26,775 acres located in Victoria (10 farms totalling 24,411 acres) and Alexandra (4 farms totalling 2,364 acres) counties respectively (Ibid:34). The N.L. & C.C. deemed these farms the most valuable. Hence, rental prices ranged from between 3 shillings 6 pence to 12 shillings 6 pence per acre. Purchase prices commenced at 60 shillings per acre and were as high as 100 shillings per acre (Ibid:31).

Although the N.L. & C.C. did not introduce settlers on the scale of Joseph Byrne or the assisted passages scheme of the Natal Government, they codified a settlement model that was cognizant of the geographical suitability of the colony for pastoral, mixed, and cash-crop agriculture. Such writing was not novel; the N.L. & C.C., however, elevated advocating a variegated colonial settlement model to a higher level of awareness because of their vast landholdings, their energy and efforts in advocating their model in writing, and perseverance after their initial 1863 efforts were rejected.

Settlement Expansion

Administrative Centers: Counties and Magisterial Districts

In British Natal the colonial government created two distinct administrative and political divisions to facilitate settlement expansion through planting urban settlements

and alienating rural landholdings. At the macro-scale, the county is discernable while at the micro-scale magisterial districts were carved out of the eight counties. During the first year following British annexation of Natal, the colony was divided into seven counties (Figure 1)¹⁶. With the introduction of settlers coupled with settlement expansion, the colonial government created the magisterial district as a smaller more manageable administrative and political division. The creation of magisterial districts was a dynamic process. Additional districts were added when local officials deemed the existing districts too unwieldy for effective administration. To be sure, in 1850 there were six districts, eight by 1856, and their number had increased to fifteen by the end of this study (Figure 27). Although the magisterial district centered on the town/village where the magistrate sat, the county remained an administrative division facilitating the land disposal, survey, and deeds registration process (Christopher 1968:173).

The Urban Landscape

Locating Towns

When Natal became a British territory there were four Dutch-Afrikaner dorpe within the extensive territory that was bounded by the Drakensberg (Quathlamba) Mountains on the northwest, the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers on the northeast, the Indian Ocean to the southeast, and an undefined southwestern boundary (E.C. Volume 2 1846-1848:62). In August 1845 Sir P. Maitland, governor of the Cape Colony, determined that the southwestern boundary of the colony of Natal was marked by the Umzimkulu river from

¹⁶ Alfred County became the eighth county when this territory, of approximately one million acres, in extreme southern Natal was added to the colony's area of 11 million acres in 1866.

its source in the Drakensberg Mountains to its mouth on the coast (Ibid:57). Pietermaritzburg, the Dutch-Afrikaner capital, was retained as the socio-political and economic center of the colony¹⁷. Port Natal, renamed Durban in honor of Sir Benjamin D'Urban once governor of the Cape Colony, was inhabited by British traders, merchants, and settlers and continued to flourish as a maritime town linking its hinterland with the homeland. As mentioned previously, Congella's growth was stifled following the lay-out of Port Natal circa 1840. Congella's importance continued to decline following British annexation and by the early 1850's the dorp resembled its first function, namely, that of a laager site. Weenen continued to be inhabited by Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists following British hegemony in Natal but the primacy of this dorp steadily declined following the 1847 Native Commissions' selection of Estcourt, southwest of Weenen, in lieu of Weenen as the magisterial seat (Haswell 1979:688).

The founding, function, and location of towns and villages in British Natal¹⁸ was determined by both private entrepreneurs as well as the local colonial government. Determining the exact date that an urban place was founded is a nebulous task. Nelson (1974:9-10) writing about town founding associated with the American frontier emphasizes the complexity of this task by asserting that, "in spite of the voluminous writings of the urban historians, there is no agreement as to the date a given city was

¹⁷ This is discussed in chapter 7.

¹⁸ Two unpublished masters theses focussed on Natal's urban places. Metcalf (1928) chronicled the founding and function of towns in the *Towns of Natal*. Smout's *Natal Towns A Study in comparative urban geography* (1966) is a quantitative analysis of Natal town functions culminating in a hierarchical central place classification of Natal urban places.

founded, mainly because there is no consensus as to what the city-founding process involves." He goes on to suggest that the transition from rural (agricultural) to urban status may be determined by "...the survey of a plat, the marking out of city streets, blocks, lots, and so on" (Ibid:10). Although this is pragmatic criterion for establishing the date that a town was founded on any frontier, our concern is not with the exact date that urban places were founded. This is of secondary importance to their function, in general, and their location, in particular.

Most urban places¹⁹ established by private entrepreneurs in Natal were founded between 1846 and 1851, particularly between 1849-51 under the direction of John Moreland, organizer, surveyor, and agent for the flamboyant entrepreneur Joseph Byrne (Table 18 and Figure 1). Additional urban places were founded through the efforts of Jonas Bergtheil, including New Germany and Westville in coastal Natal as well as New Hanover in the Natal midlands (Table 15 and Figure 1). Finally, Howick and York in midland Natal were planted by Wesleyan settlers and Henry Boast respectively. The majority of these urban places were located in midland and coastal Natal, especially Pietermaritzburg county as well as Durban and Victoria counties and served as central places for these agricultural communities.

Government efforts at founding urban places commenced in 1848 when the Commission appointed (1847) to consider the division of Natal into separate magistracies coupled with the selection of sites for towns forwarded their

¹⁹ Mount Moreland, New Glasgow, and Byrne on the Little Harmony estate are not shown in Figure 1 because they were short-lived attempts at planting agricultural settlements on land forfeited by the Cotton Company in Victoria county.

recommendations to the Lieutenant-Governor (B.P.P. 1847-51 Number 28:624-629). The Commission delineated six magisterial districts, namely, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Umvoti, Impafana, Upper Tugela, and Klip River (Umzinyati) (Figure 14). Moreover, a magisterial seat was proposed for each of the districts together with one to three villages scattered throughout each of these districts. The function of the former was administrative in contrast to the villages whose function was probably socio-economic.

D'Urban, previously named Port Natal, was selected as the magisterial seat for the Durban district together with three unnamed villages projected to be located on the Tongati (Tongaat) and Umhloti rivers as well as on the Sterk Spruit stream (Figure 14) (Ibid:625). Pietermaritzburg was designated the magisterial seat for the district bearing the same name while two villages, one located above the Umgani waterfall and the other on the Umlazi river, rounded out urban places for this midland district. Umvoti township, later named Greytown, served as the administrative center for the Umvoti division while a site at the mouth of the Tugela river was proposed for a yet to be named village (Ibid:626). The military post at the drift of the Bushman's river served as the site for the magistracy named Estcourt when it was platted during the 1850's while the Dutch-Afrikaner dorp of Weenen served as the only village for the Impafana division (Ibid:626-627). Three vaguely defined sites were earmarked for the two villages and magisterial seat (ie. Upper Tugela) for the fifth magisterial district named Upper Tugela. Although the Commission concurred with "...the late Volk's Raad, for a town on the Sunday's River..." (Ibid:627) that would serve as the administrative center for the Klip River division, this site was abandoned in preference for Ladysmith

on the Klip River when the town was actually laid-out (Henderson 1982:16). This was the site originally selected for the establishment of a village at Klip River (Figure 14).

The process of creating magisterial districts, that centered on urban places through subdivision of the original magistracies, serving administrative functions continued throughout the period under study so that by 1880 there were fifteen magistracies (Figure 27). The magistracy of Alfred is an exception to the rule of sub-division. Alfred located on the southern border of the colony was established as an administrative district, with Port Shepstone serving as the magisterial seat, from the one million acres annexed to Natal in 1866 (McCracken 1962:219). In addition to planting urban places that served as magisterial seats, the government laid-out additional towns/villages when and where they deemed it necessary. After 1851 until the end-date of this study, the Natal government single-handedly controlled settlement expansion through the location of urban places (Table 19 and 20; Figure 27).

The Rural Landscape

Increase in Settled Area and Number of Farms

Following British annexation of Natal in 1844, Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists were induced to remain in this British territory through granting of title to their extensive pastoral landholdings (Table 5). A total of 585 grants covering an area of 3.3 million acres were made to pastoralists. Moreover, the average farm size measured 5,674 acres. As expected, the largest area, namely 2.5 million acres or 77% of the total area alienated was located in the three counties of Klip River, Weenen, and Pietermaritzburg. Similarly, a total of 432 farms, or 74% of all farms recorded, were located in these two

Table 19

Government Towns and Villages: 1873

TOWN/ VILLAGE	DIVISION/ COUNTY	TOWNSHIP AREA ACRES	ERVEN SET ASIDE	ERVEN SOLD	TOTAL UNSOLD	ERF SIZE	PRICE
East Williamson	Tugela Div, Victoria	700.0	0	0	0	0	0
West Williamson	Tugela Div, Victoria	1,200.0	0	0	0	0	0
Glendale	Tugela Div, Victoria	231.5	38	18	20	1.75	5.0.0.
North Barrow	Durban	923.0	0	0	0	0	0
South Barrow	Alexandra	660.0	300	38	262	0.5	5.0.0
Scottburgh	Alexandra	700.0	128	1	127	1	5.0.0
Port Harding	Alexandra	2,500.0	0	0	0	0	0
N. Shepstone	Alexandra	3,400.0	0	0	0	0	0
S. Shepstone	Alfred County	1,000.0	0	0	0	0	0
Howick	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Nottingham	Pietermaritzburg	13,800.0	100	13	87	2	10.0.0
Dronk Vley	Upper Umkomaas	25,000.0	0	0	0	0	0
Weston	Weenen	6,000.0	270	21	249	1	5.0.0
Weenen	Weenen	19,830.0	138	108	30	1.75	10.0.0
Estcourt	Weenen	900.0	194	46	148	1	10.0.0
Colenso	Weenen	1,180.0	137	40	97	1	10.0.0
Greytown	Umvoti County	10,940.0	355	231	124	1	10.0.0
Ladysmith	Klip River	17,108.0	361	119	242	1	10.0.0
Newcastle	Newcastle	25,000.0	651	134	517	1	5.0.0
Richmond	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Stanger	Tugela Div, Victoria	1,820.0	310	36	274	0.5	5.0.0
Harding	Alfred	9,000.0	610	22	588	1	3.0.0
TOTAL:		141,892.5	3,592	827	2,765		

Source: N.G.G. Volume 25 (1440); November 11, 1873

Note:

Excludes Pietermaritzburg and Durban

Price denotes pounds, shillings, pence

Table 20

Government Towns and Villages: 1880

TOWN/ VILLAGE	DIVISION/ COUNTY	TOWNSHIP AREA ACRES	ERVEN SET ASIDE	ERVEN SOLD	ERF SIZE	NUMBER OF ERVEN OCCUPIED
East Williamson	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
West Williamson	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Glendale	Tugela Div, Victoria	231.5	38	18	0.5	1
North Barrow	Durban	923.0	0	0	0	0
South Barrow	Alexandra	660.0	300	42	0.5	1
Scottburgh	Alfred	700.0	128	5	1	1
Port Harding	Alexandra	2,500.0	0	0	0	0
N. Shepstone	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
S. Shepstone	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Howick	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Nottingham	Pietermaritzburg	13,800.0	100	14	2	5
Dronk Vley	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Weston	Weenen	6,000.0	270	52	1	14
Weenen	Weenen	19,830.0	138	108	1.75	38
Estcourt	Weenen	900.0	194	84	1	31
Colenso	Weenen	1,180.0	137	42	1	14
Greytown	Umvoti County	10,940.0	355	235	1	101
Ladysmith	Klip River	17,108.0	361	121	1	82
Newcastle	Newcastle	25,000.0	651	199	1	48
Richmond	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Stanger	Tugela Div, Victoria	1,820.0	310	113	0.5	28
Harding	Alfred	9,000.0	610	24	1	19
TOTAL:		110,592.5	3,592	1,057		383

Source: N.G.G. Volume 32 (1808); February 17, 1880

Note:

Excludes Pietermaritzburg and Durban

interior and one midland administrative division. These predominantly grassland counties, relative to the three coastal counties, were suitable for open-range grazing and were therefore sought after, occupied, and claimed by Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists.

Systematic data indicating settled area and the number of farms granted following British annexation are only available from 1860 until 1910. Hence, the comparative discussion of the increase/decrease in settled area for the colony as a whole and within the individual eight counties is limited to the decades 1860 through 1880, the end date of the study (Table 21). For the colony as a whole, the settled area increased from 4.4 million acres in 1860 to 5.2 million acres by 1880. The greatest increase (1.29%) occurred between 1860 and 1870. Similarly, in terms of the number of farms, the largest increase (1.79%) in the number of individual farms occurred between 1860 and 1870. Although the average farm size decreased between 1860 and 1870, by 1880 the average farm size was merely 15 acres shy of the 1860 level and had increased by about 80-acres from the 1870 average (Table 21). Settlement expansion was therefore greatest between 1860 and 1870 in comparison with growth (0.52%) during the following decade.

A discussion of trends in farms and farm sizes within individual counties is instructive for understanding the geography of settlement expansion. With the exception of Alfred County which experienced a 16.9% increase in settled area between 1870 and 1880 following the formation of the county in 1866, three counties (Umvoti, Pietermaritzburg, and Victoria) experienced settlement expansion increases of below 1% between 1860 and 1870 and 1870 and 1880. Of the remaining four counties, interior

Table 21

Settled Area, Number of Farms and Average Farm Size in Natal: 1860 to 1880

COUNTY	YEAR	SETTLED AREA (ACRES)	RATE CHANGE	% CHANGE	NUMBER OF FARMS	RATE CHANGE	% CHANGE	AVERAGE FARM SIZE (ACRES)
Klip River	1860	1,176,570			202			5,825
	1870	1,533,862	0.027	2.69	311	0.044	4.41	4,932
	1880	1,711,783	0.011	1.10	418	0.030	3.00	4,095
Weenen	1860	847,422			183			4,631
	1870	968,310	0.013	1.34	235	0.025	2.53	4,120
	1880	980,588	0.001	0.13	236	0.000	0.04	4,155
Umvoti	1860	569,242			139			4,095
	1870	606,742	0.006	0.64	171	0.021	2.09	3,548
	1880	612,576	0.001	0.10	187	0.009	0.90	3,276
Pietermaritzburg	1860	1,330,530			977			1,362
	1870	1,366,886	0.003	0.27	1,074	0.010	0.95	1,273
	1880	1,409,240	0.003	0.31	979	(0.009)	(0.92)	1,439
Victoria	1860	314,556			486			647
	1870	332,834	0.006	0.57	567	0.016	1.55	587
	1880	338,494	0.002	0.17	513	(0.010)	(0.10)	660
Durban	1860	110,204			195			565
	1870	123,081	0.011	1.11	235	0.019	1.88	524
	1880	121,197	(0.002)	(0.15)	248	0.005	0.54	489
Alexandra	1860	73,403			71			1,034
	1870	91,743	0.023	2.26	86	0.019	1.94	1,067
	1880	107,922	0.016	1.64	111	0.026	2.58	972
Alfred	1870	2,378			12			198
	1880	11,371	0.169	16.94	25	0.076	7.62	455
Natal	1860	4,421,927			2,253			1,963
	1870	5,025,836	0.013	1.29	2,691	0.017	1.79	1,868
	1880	5,293,171	0.005	0.52	2,717	0.000	0.10	1,948

Source: Compiled from Christopher 1969a

Klip River and coastal Alexandra recorded the greatest percentage increase in settled area-- 2.69% and 1.10% between the years 1860 and 1870 and 2.26% and 1.64% between 1870 and 1880 (Table 21). Both Weenen and Durban counties recorded growth rates above 1% between 1860 and 1870 but their settlement expansion rates decreased between 1870 and 1880. In fact, Durban County saw a decrease in settlement expansion (-0.15%) probably attributable to the earmarking of more land for the expansion of towns and villages (Table 21).

Turning to the growth in the number of farms, Alfred County is once again the outlier with a 7.62% increase between 1870 and 1880. Klip River, Weenen, and Umvoti counties also reported increases in excess of 2% between 1860 and 1870, although the percentage in two of these counties (Weenen and Umvoti) dropped below 1% between 1870 and 1880. In all three of these counties, particularly Klip River, average farm size decreased substantially even as settled area continued to increase from one decade to the next (Table 21). Although the average farm size was well below the Dutch-Afrikaner standard of 3,000 morgen (6,000 acres) in these counties, the principle of extensive landholdings, in contrast to the 20-acre Imperial Model, persisted in interior (Klip River and Weenen county) and midland (Umvoti county) British Natal. Alexandra County witnessed a steady increase in the number of farms that culminated in a 2.58% increase between 1870 and 1880 while Durban county's trend was the converse of Alexandra's (Table 21). Pietermaritzburg and Victoria counties are aberrations in that the number of farms in these counties decreased between 1870 and 1880 and resulted in an increase in individual farm sizes. To be sure the average farm

in Pietermaritzburg and Victoria counties was 166 acres and 73 acres bigger than their 1870 averages respectively.

Settler Source Regions

Context: Conditions in Nineteenth Century Britain

The period that straddled the middle of the nineteenth century was one of social turmoil in Britain. The effects of industrialization, coupled with rural to urban migration was manifest in overcrowded industrial towns, especially in northern England, where squalor and poverty abounded. The rural to urban flow was aided by "push" forces in the countryside that challenged the profitability and hence viability of making a living off the land. These included the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 and repeal of the Corn Laws (Kain and Prince 1985). Uncertainty associated with agricultural change was compounded by the inadequacies of the poor laws as well as an exponentially growing British population that exceeded the geometric growth of food production. It was against this backdrop of social turmoil fomented by agricultural change, industrialization, and government legislation that both voluntary and forced emigration sprung. It is estimated that between 1831 and 1931, approximately 20 million people emigrated from the United Kingdom (Bloomfield 1961:96). Although the greater proportion of these emigrants departed before 1850, approximately 7.5 million souls left the shores of Great Britain between 1845 and 1879 (Christopher 1973:113). Select committees in the House of Commons convened to consider solutions for the country's social ills. One suggestion was transportation of convicts and paupers

abroad. By the late 1820's convicts had been shipped to New South Wales (Bloomfield 1961:85).

The policy of transportation and using the colonies as dumping grounds for "undesirable" and poorer British subjects was strongly criticized by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the colonial reformers. Wakefield who is credited as "the builder of the British Commonwealth" drew on his experiences and interviews with inmates while serving a three-year sentence in Newgate prison to fashion the colonial reformers' immigration and settlement model. Spearheaded by Wakefield, the Colonial Reformers countered separatist parliamentary disinterest in the colonies premised on the view that "...colonies are like fruits that cling to the tree only until they are ripe" (cited in Ralls 1934:8). Hence, they proposed peopling New Zealand (Clark 1949:82-94), Australia, Upper Canada, and other British colonies with people from the British Isles through the maintenance of a balance between land, labor, and capital and the re-creation of "New Englands" overseas. As mentioned before, the principles of the colonial reformers' settlement model, although somewhat modified, were adhered to in the colonization and settlement of Natal approximately a decade after the settlement of New Zealand and Australia.

The Geography of Immigration

Immigration and settlement of nineteenth century Natal, as was the case with most British possessions, was co-ordinated, planned, and facilitated through government established organizational structures in both Natal and the metropole (Figure 28). In London, the two most important government institutions that facilitated or inhibited

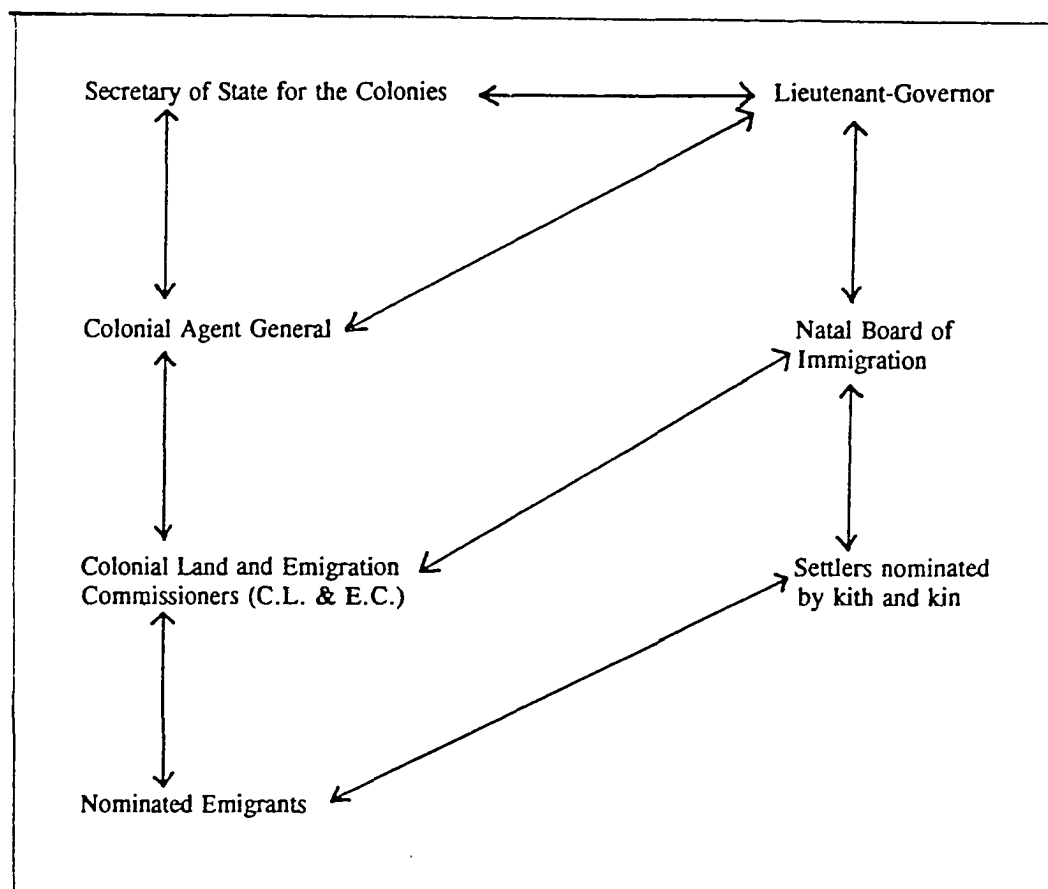


Figure 28 Schematic Representation of Immigration Administrative Structures

Source: Compiled by author

immigration to Natal during the period under study were the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, established in 1840, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The C.L. & E.C. was initially established to promote immigration and settlement of South Australia under the auspices of the Colonial Reformers. The C.L. & E.C. was in existence for approximately 38-years (1840-1878) during which it served as the "bureau for the diffusion of information relating to emigration, and to the economic and social status of the Empire in general" (Hitchins 1931:307). Besides dissemination of quantitative and qualitative information on particular colonies, the C.L. & E.C.'s most important role in the immigration process was evaluating nominated immigrants occupational suitability for the needs of particular colonies.

The C.L. & E.C. worked in conjunction with the Secretary of State for the Colonies who considered, sanctioned, or rejected immigration and settlement schemes from the Governor/Lieutenant-Governor of the colonies. The Colonial Agent General was only involved in the immigration process to Natal during the period of government (Natal) assisted immigration between 1857 and 1879. Under government assisted immigration, settlers in Natal nominated friends and relatives from the metropole. The Colonial Agent General provided 2,000 pounds to convey nominated immigrants to Natal at 10 pounds per statute adult. Settlers in Natal who nominated kith and kin entered into written contracts agreeing to cover immigrants passage money should the latter fail to repay their passage money within a year of arrival in Natal. Within the first year that the system of assisted immigration was in operation it was extended to include servants and laborers as well as friends and relatives (Akitt 1953:72-75).

In addition to the role of the Lieutenant-Governor and settlers in facilitating immigration to Natal, the Natal Board of Immigration (N.B. of I) also played a pivotal role in peopling the colony (Figure 28). The N.B. of I. was established in 1857 to work in conjunction with the C.L. & E. C. in promoting government assisted immigration. The board consisted of hard-working, energetic, volunteer settlers desirous of settling Natal with the "right kind of immigrant" who would contribute to the prosperity and development of the colony. The boards duties included: co-ordinating applications; collecting due passage money following the arrival of nominated immigrants in Natal; as well as the publication of a colonial guide-book that was circulated amongst the British public. The N.B. of I. was dissolved in 1873 when, after a period of approximately two years during which government assisted immigration was terminated, government assisted immigration was renewed. The N.B. of I. was superseded by the Land and Immigration Board when the Department of immigration was established in 1873 (Bagwandeem 1974:100-101 and 126). Despite the sterling efforts of the N.B. of I., their immigration and settlement efforts were hampered by un-cooperative proprietors not prepared to make their large landholdings available for purchase and the subsequent settlement of immigrants (Akitt 1953:77-79).

Three periods of immigration to Natal are discernable, namely 1846 to 1853, 1849 to 1851, and 1857-1879. In this section I discuss each of these periods and emphasize the number of settlers and their source regions. During the first period, immigration was undertaken by numerous private individuals and entrepreneurs (Table 15). Within this first period, the efforts of Joseph Byrne, between 1849 to 1851, is identified as a

distinct era in the immigration and settlement annals of Natal and as such is designated as the second period of immigration (Table 18)²⁰. The third immigration period (1857-1879) spanned an approximately 25-year period and was dominated by Natal government assisted immigration. During the years 1844-45 and 1853-55, following British annexation of Natal and on the eve of Natal's representative government in 1856 respectively, no concerted efforts at immigration and settlement were detected.

During the first period of immigration approximately 3,000 settlers were brought to Natal under private immigration schemes (Ralls 1934:72) (Table 15). Settlers hailed from the Cape Colony, Germany, and various parts of the United Kingdom including London and Yorkshire. This first period of immigration and settlement may be designated a pioneer phase, characterized by the implantation of people and experimentation with preconceived settlement models²¹. Moreover, rudimentary urban places were planted including: York, Compensation, New Germany, Pinetown, New Hanover, New Glasgow, Mount Moreland, and New England.

The final period of immigration to Natal was dominated by the local government through the system of assisted passages. Government-assisted immigration occurred between 1857 and 1880 with an interruption of three years between 1869 to 1871 when

²⁰ The role of Joseph Byrne in immigration and settlement, including the number of settlers introduced and their source regions was discussed in the settlement models section of this chapter.

²¹ The estimated figure of approximately 3,000 immigrants does not square with the number of settlers listed in Table 15 because the exact number of settlers conveyed under each individual immigration and settlement model is unknown. Additional settlers immigrating to Natal during this first period probably came under other smaller schemes or simply as individuals and/or as families.

it was temporarily suspended. A total of about 1,692 statute adults were brought to Natal between 1857 to 1868 with government assistance (Bagwandeem 1974:180). For the same period McCracken (1962:224) estimates that a total of 2,200 immigrants, including 90 Hollanders arrived in the colony. Akitt (1953:81) asserts that of these immigrants, 1,372 arrived in Natal between 1857 and 1862. Moreover, these immigrants were conveyed in 18 ships. Fifteen of the ships departed from London carrying a total of 1,147 immigrants while one ship conveying 116 people and two vessels filled with 79 souls departed from Plymouth and Liverpool respectively (Akitt 1953:154). The place of origin of 933 of the 1,372 immigrants is also known. The English northern industrial counties of Yorkshire (141), Lancashire (78), Lincolnshire (38), and Durham (30) as well as the London metropolis (175) contributed a total of 723 people (ie. 64% of the English immigrants). Finally, 151 immigrants hailed from Scotland, 57 from Ireland, and 2 from Wales (Akitt 1953: Compiled Appendix D).

Following²² the resumption of government-assisted immigration in 1872, a total of 560 immigrants came to the colony under the auspices of the government scheme between 1877 to 1879. In sum, a total of approximately 8,000 (7,956) immigrants were introduced into Natal during the 34-year British period under study through both private and government immigration and settlement schemes. Since Natal's white population stood at just over 25,000 souls in 1880, how do we account for the other two-thirds of the total white population (Figure 29). The Dutch-Afrikaner inhabitants that remained

²² There are no figures for government-assisted immigration during the first five years following its resumption.

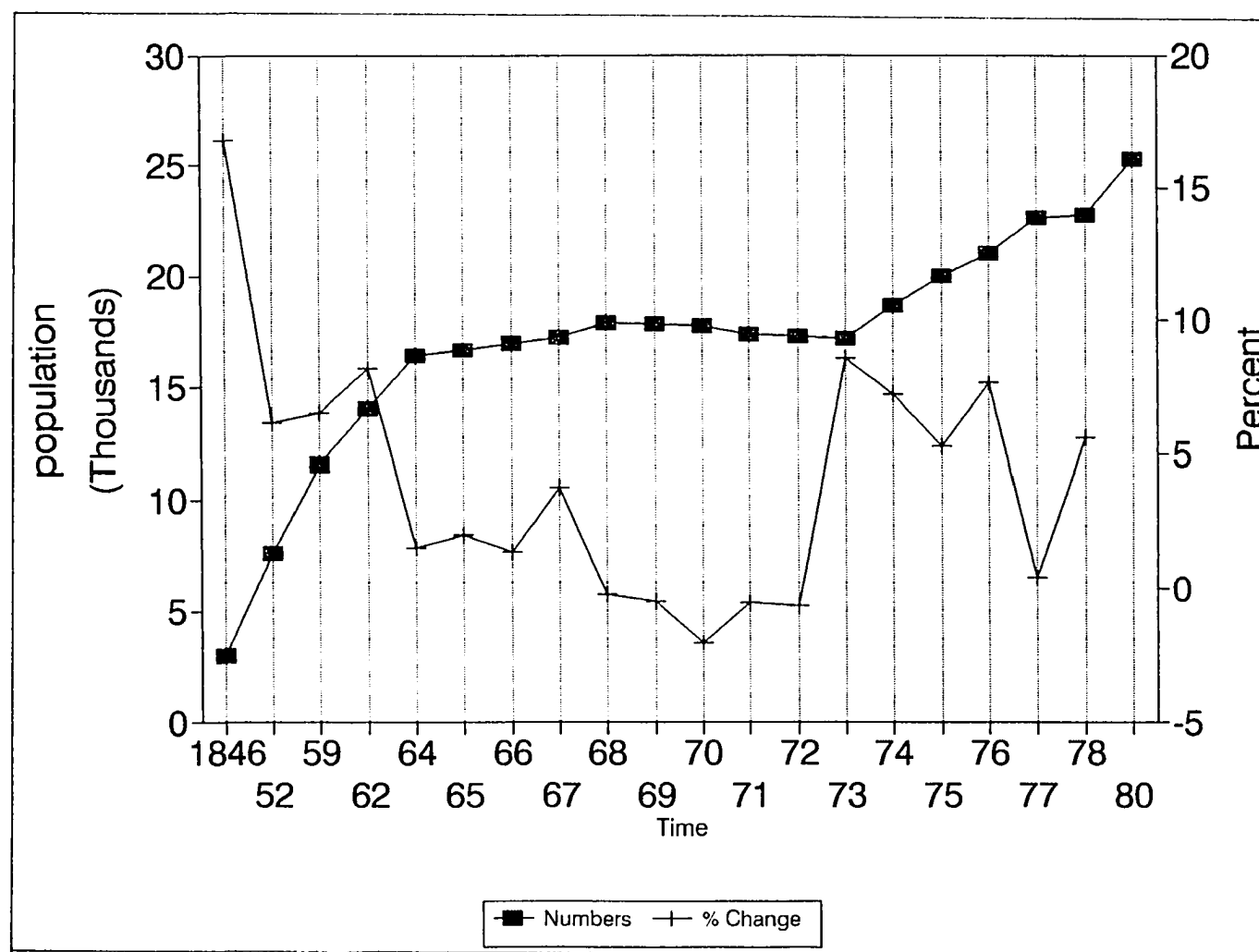


Figure 29 White Population in Colonial Natal: 1846 to 1880
Source: Compiled from British Parliamentary Papers

in Natal following British annexation together with English traders and settlers who migrated from the Cape Colony accounted for approximately 3,000 white settlers. The remainder are accounted for: (1) by settlers who arrived in Natal between 1854-57 and 1869-71, when no immigration schemes were in effect; (2) through the introduction of settlers via private immigration and settlement models in the 1860's and 1870's (Tables 16 and 17); (3) through natural increase; and (4) individual and family immigration independent of organized immigration and settlement models.

Settler Vignettes²³

Immigrants deciding to pursue a new life in Natal came from diverse backgrounds, occupations, and callings. A quantitative analysis of settler occupations is not instructive in attempting to comprehend nineteenth century British colonial society, in general, and Natal, in particular, because many intending British immigrants falsified their occupational status in order to meet the C.L. & E.C.'s demand for skilled artisans and/or laborers at different times (Spencer 1981). I present three vignettes, attempting to capture the diversity of people who experienced Natal, ranging from those who made it their permanent home to those who sojourned in this part of southeast Africa to temporarily escape British society and climate. John Sheddon Dobie is representative

²³ Other examples of the writings of temporary sojourners include Charles Barter and G.H. Mason who wrote *The Dorp and the Veld* (1852) and *Life with the Zulu's of Natal South Africa* (1968) respectively. Holden's (1963) *History of the Colony of Natal*; Shooter's (1969) *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*; and Leslie's (1969) *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* are additional examples of the missionary's experience in the colony. Tyler's (1891) *Forty Years among the Zulus*; Fynns (1986 edited by Stuart and Malcolm) *The Diary of Henry Francis Fynn*; and Colenso's (1855) *Ten Weeks in Natal A Journal of a first tour and visitation among the colonists and the Zulu kafirs of Natal* represent the settler genre writing.

of the temporary sojourner; Francis Owen personifies those engaged in proselytizing; and Thomas Phipson is the quintessential example of individuals who made the transition from immigrant, to local colonial official, culminating in the status of seasoned settler (Hale n.d. and Currey 1968).

Dobie, a Scot, was born at Beith, Ayshire in 1819. He spent four years in Natal, from 1861 to 1865, hereafter returning to Ayshire where he lived until his death in 1903. Dobie was very mobile having lived in: New South Wales where he raised sheep on a squatter's license; California where he worked the gold-fields (circa 1851); the Hawaiian Islands on a trading venture; and finally in Australia again where he was engaged in cattle farming and gold digging before travelling to Natal (Hale n.d.:282-283). Even during his four year sojourn in Natal, Dobie was continually on the move making three journey's to Queenstown and Cradock in the eastern Cape Colony in search of sheep that could be cross-bred with Natal sheep that he deemed "...may do [better] under proper management" (Hale n.d.:285). His writing highlights numerous aspects of life and society in Natal regarding sheep raising including, the dearth of grazing resources during the summer months in Natal and the Cape Colony (Hale n.d.:289, 290, and 292) as well as the prevalence of the extensive 6,000 acre pastoral run (Ibid:283). Dobie's writing captures land and life in Natal and the eastern Cape Colony dominated by livestock raising, a dispersed settlement pattern, and the use of Dutch-Afrikaner vernacular when describing the landscape and society.

Francis Owen arrived in Natal during December 1834 and resided at the Zulu royal kraal Umgungundlovu where he served as missionary to the Zulu with Dingaan's

sanction. Owen, a graduate of St. John's college, Cambridge was recruited by Captain Allen Gardiner, one of the early English merchants/traders at Port Natal, to establish a mission in Zululand under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (Hale n.d.:262). Owen provided an eye-witness account (Ibid:276-278) of the murder and impalement of Piet Retief and seventy Dutch-Afrikaner burghers, including Khoikhoi servants, at Umgungundlovu on February 6, 1838 which he described as "a dreadful day in the annals of the mission!" (Ibid:276). Although Owen and his kins lives were spared, they decided to take leave of their mission station following the murder of the Natal Voortrekkers. He and his family headed for Sidbury near Grahamstown where he served as a parish priest before moving to Bechuanaland (Botswana) on mission. Hereafter, he returned to Sheffield, England before travelling to Egypt where he died in 1854 (Ibid:263). Francis Owen's writing reflects the confusion associated with black-white interaction manifest in everyday experiences. The opposing motives of the Zulu King and Francis Owen are captured in the following excerpt from Owen's diary:

[Dingaan] called me to him, and said that he was very sore. The white people, he said, were not one with him. They granted him some things, but other things they withheld (alluding to the gunpowder): yet he was ready to do all the white people asked him: first one teacher asked to instruct his people, then another, and he granted all! Yet he could not have his wants supplied in return! He said, moreover, that I was like the rest: that I was one with the white people; for when he asked me only to lend him a bullet mould, I refused, this shewed [sic] that I was like them. I told him that I was ready to do him every service in my power, consistently with my duty to my God, my king, and my country. He said it was no use for me to "twist myself out" of the charge that he brought against the white people, for it was evident that I opposed his having fire arms as much as they did (Hale n.d.:272).

Thomas Phipson was born in 1815 in London. He was the son of a prominent family in the early manufacturing history of Birmingham, a center of non-conformity

and independent thought. To be sure, although the Phipson's were affluent they were excluded from government and other social privileges, including attending Oxford or Cambridge, largely because of their Congregationalist religious affiliation and non-conformist philosophy. Currey (1968:xviii) asserts that "...it was the body of anti-privilege, anti-establishment ideas inherited by Thomas Phipson that made him so fierce and so well-informed a critic of injustice in Natal" (Ibid:90-102). Phipson's interest in Natal was kindled while serving a clerkship with the London Missionary Society in 1837. But it was twelve years later, in May 1849, that he and his family took leave of Britain, largely for religious and economic reasons. Phipson lived in Natal for twenty-seven years, until his suicide in October 1876 (Ibid:222-227). He left a widow and family, that included seven sons and two daughters.

Three distinct periods characterize the life of Thomas Phipson in Natal, namely, that of a new colonist (1849-52); of government servant (1853-72); and as a seasoned colonist (1873-76)²⁴. As a new colonist Phipson communicated his experiences of life in his new home, including pen-sketches of the Port town and the capital, to friends and relatives in Britain. In addition, Phipson's political awakening in Natal is manifest through his writing published in local papers as well as the founding of the *Natal Standard* in 1852 (Currey 1968:71). As a government servant, 1853-72, Phipson served as Natal sheriff from 1853 to 1861. During these years, particularly the decade 1862-72, Phipson vocally opposed the Natal Judges and Bishop Colenso in the press. In

²⁴ Phipson's writing during these three periods of his life in Natal is published as *Letters and other writings of a Natal Sheriff Thomas Phipson 1815-76*.

terms of public interest, he entered the immigration and settlement debate when the former was languishing. During the last four years of his life as an old colonist, Phipson farmed with coffee on his New England estate five miles south-east of Pietermaritzburg. Moreover, he was critical of Shepstone's Native location policy as well as missionary endeavors. Both he believed inhibited Natal's indigenous population from becoming economically self-supporting. Phipson advocated individual freehold tenure for Natives on the same footing as that of white Natalians. Natal lost one of her pioneers, concerned government officials, and settlers who grappled with public issues affecting the welfare of the colony when Phipson, in a state of depression, took his life in Pietermaritzburg one morning in October 1876.

Conclusion

Numerous settlement models were espoused and implemented in British Natal while others simply remained "paper-schemes." The majority of these models were beneficial in introducing settlers to a colony in desperate need of white settlers. Settlement expansion was facilitated through the establishment of magisterial districts that served as administrative centers. Both private entrepreneurs and the Natal government were active in founding urban places within these magisterial districts. The majority of towns and/or villages established by the former were located in midland and coastal Natal between 1846 and 1851. By contrast, government efforts at town founding occurred throughout the colony, primarily through the establishment of magistracies that served as administrative centers. Government town founding commenced in 1848 and continued for the duration of the period under study.

In terms of settlement expansion, Klip River and Alexandra counties exhibited the highest and most consistent rates (measured in % change) of expansion while the increase in settled area in Pietermaritzburg county was lowest. Although by Dutch-Afrikaner standards the average farm size for Natal as a whole had declined considerably by 1880, from about 5,700 acres to approximately 2,000 acres, these rural cadastres exceeded Imperial model prescriptions of 20-acre compact, agricultural landholdings. Moreover, in Weenen, Klip River, and Umvoti counties, the average farm size still stood at between 3,000 to 4,000 acres in 1880 while the average size in Pietermaritzburg and Victoria counties exceeded 1860 sizes. Turning to settler source regions, I identify three periods of immigration to Natal dominated by government-assisted immigration between 1857 and 1880. The majority of immigrants hailed from towns and villages in northern England, particularly Yorkshire, as well as from the London metropolis. There were, however, also a sprinkling from the Cape Colony and parts of Germany, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. These settlers of European origin settled Natal within the framework of an Imperially prescribed settlement template. This settlement template was, however, modified because of antecedent Dutch-Afrikaner and indigenous institutions and settlement ideologies. These adaptations and borrowings, resulting in the making of a South African settlement system, are the focus of the final chapter.

CHAPTER 7

MODIFICATION OF IMPERIAL SETTLEMENT IDEALS AND THE CREATION OF PLACE

The present position of the Natal district is peculiar....the population, widely scattered, consists of a great variety of races, of different degrees of intelligence and civilization, and influenced by very different views and habits- English, Dutch, Kafirs, and no inconsiderable number of Zoolahs and others.....(Lord Stanley 1844).

Introduction

Natal's nineteenth-century British settlement system is a syncretic compromise of European and South-African adaptations. However, the relative impact of European and South African ideas and institutions that constitute the settlement system vary through time and particularly space. In short, the migration, colonization, and interaction of British colonial authorities and settlers with Dutch-Afrikaner and Natives in "contact zones" (Pratt 1992) produced a geography that varied through space. In this chapter I present this spatially variegated settlement system by identifying British core and domain culture regions as well as zones of interaction with Dutch-Afrikaner and Indigenous Native ethno-cultural societies. The delimitation of these regions and zones of interaction were dynamic since British immigrants and colonial officials were continually carrying ideas and institutions to the colony; similarly in certain geographical localities settlers (initially) and later colonial officials were adapting their ideas and institutions to localized conditions and settlers in interior Natal were following Dutch-Afrikaner settlement precedents in dividing and living off the land as well as with regard to the accommodation of the Natives. Therefore, in the final part of this chapter I delineate

British, African, and Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions and zones of interaction circa 1850 and 1880 to illustrate how the settlement system changed through time.

This chapter consists of three parts. In the first part I identify and discuss the persistence of Dutch-Afrikaner ideas and institutions. These were adopted by both British colonial officials and settlers, although the former tended to resist their adoption even as late as the late 1870's. In part two the Location system is discussed. The Native Location was established by British colonial officials as an adaptation to accommodate Indigenous Natives within the Imperial Settlement model. As noted in chapter 5, the Native Location had Dutch-Afrikaner antecedents. It was, however, under the supervision of Theophilus Shepstone (1846-1876) that this Dutch-Afrikaner idea was refined, implemented, and brought to fruition in the form of the fragmented Location model. Resistance to the Location system was voiced by Natives in the interior of the colony and by white coastal planters. After identifying geographical localities exhibiting opposition to the Locations, I discuss why the Location became institutionalized in Natal and served as a model for South Africa at Union in 1910. I conclude this chapter with a model of changing British, Dutch-Afrikaner, and Indigenous Native culture regions circa 1850 and 1880. Collectively they constitute a South African settlement system.

Persistence of Dutch-Afrikaner Ideas/Institutions

Language: Dutch-Afrikaner Vernacular and Afrikanerisms

Charles Pettman defines Afrikanerisms as "Dutch words and idioms in use in South African English" (Pettman 1913:23). Pettman, who resided in South Africa for forty

years, was fascinated with, yet confused by "...the strange words [Afrikanerisms] that fell upon his ear" (Ibid:V) shortly after his arrival at Cape Town in October 1876. Pettman's experience in the latter part of the nineteenth century was not an isolated one. Prior to Pettman's experience settler's, itinerant travellers, temporary sojourners, missionaries, and British colonial officials in the Cape Colony and Natal were confronted with Afrikanerisms in their everyday discourse after previously Dutch-Afrikaner territories become British colonies in 1795 and 1843 respectively. These Afrikanerisms have subsequently become commonplace in South Africa so that today citizens of other nation states are confronted with Afrikanerisms through television and newspapers. The uniqueness of Afrikanerisms in South African culture history and society is reflected in scholarly writings where the absence of a glossary or explanation of terms makes comprehension of such works unintelligible.

The concern here is with British settlers, missionaries, travellers, and colonial officials who were confronted with Afrikanerisms in nineteenth century Natal. I emphasize that Afrikanerisms became part and parcel of British settlers' and officials' everyday discourse as they experienced Natal through naming the natural and humanly-fashioned landscape in the creation of a settlement system. The place, Natal, that they created and inhabited was a British colony, that in reflecting antecedent Dutch-Afrikaner and Indigenous language, settlement ideas and institutions, distinguished it from other African British colonies created during the nineteenth century. In the following section I discuss the adoption and use of four Afrikanerisms by British settlers and colonial officials in the creation and functioning of the Natalian settlement system, namely,

fieldcornets in the administration of the colony, erf/erven, units of measure, and laagers, and outspans. They constitute the core elements in the morphology and functioning of a settlement system dominated by open-range livestock grazing, dispersed rural homesteads, and rudimentary town and villages that served as centers for the exchange of commodities, to conduct business, and for social interaction. These core elements and toponymic Afrikanerisms, discussed in the final part of this chapter, became part of the British Natal settlement system through contact and interaction of Dutch-Afrikaner and British settlers and officials.

Henry Cloete (LL.D.), who was summoned by Her Majesty's Government to take leave of his post in the Cape Colony and travel to Natal where he was to investigate, observe, and report on the status of the newly acquired colony's settlement in 1843, was initially instrumental in bridging the gap between British and Dutch-Afrikaner society and their concomitant settlement ideas and institutions including Afrikanerisms. This is manifest in Cloete's *Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and their Settlement in the District of Natal until their Formal Submission to Her Majesty's Authority, in the year 1843*. Through these lectures one gains insight into Cloete's intimate understanding of early nineteenth-century Dutch/Afrikaner-Anglo ethno-cultural society and their divergent settlement philosophies and race relation strategies.

Other examples of officials' roles in contact, interaction, and transmission of Dutch-Afrikaner settlement ideas and institutions include Theophilus Shepstone and Henry Francis Fynn. Like Cloete, both had resided in the Cape Colony for numerous years

before taking the post of Secretary for Native Affairs and Resident Magistrate in Natal respectively. However, the most intense exchange of ideas between Dutch-Afrikaner and Anglo settlers occurred in meetings of the Natal Legislative Council where elected officials from both Dutch-Afrikaner and Anglo societies served on select committee's to investigate and frame policy on issues that ranged from increasing European immigration to the establishment of more Native Locations from 1856 until 1879. A final place where Anglo settlers could become acquainted with Afrikanerisms and Dutch-Afrikaner settlement ideas and institutions were in unrecorded neighborly exchanges between settlers from diverse backgrounds.

Some examples illustrate that British Natal was a bilingual colony. Reverend Francis Owen, who conducted mission work among Dingaan and Zulu resident at Umgungundlovu from 1834 to 1838, wrote letters for Dingane in his correspondence with Voortrekker leader Piet Retief concerning the granting of land that later became the Republic of Natalia (Hale n.d. 275). The terrified Owen and his family watched the massacre of Retief and seventy Voortrekkers at the signing of the famous land treaty at Umgungundlovu on February 6th, 1838 from their hut situated on top of a hill that commanded a view of the entire town approximately one mile distant (Ibid 269). In the colonial capital Thomas Phipson noted that the Congregational Church conducted worship services in both English and Dutch since the latter was the language of their colored members (Currey 1968:27). Similarly, the *Natal Standard* edited by Phipson and his brother was published in both English and Dutch for Pietermaritzburg's bilingual citizens (Ibid:71). In the port town of Durban, Mason was impressed that

English merchants at the harbor were familiar with "the Dutch and Caffre [Zulu] language" (Mason 1968:88). In official circles, colonial government appointments were contingent on knowledge of Dutch. Stanley asserted that members of the boards established for local government would be nominated by the Crown (ie., local colonial officials) with the proviso that officials in the Districts of Weenen and Pietermaritzburg be "conversant with the Dutch language" (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:63). In fact Stanley asserted that the Lieutenant-Governor also meet this stipulation (Ibid). In 1854 Bishop Colenso found as he traversed the colony from coast to interior that most officials, ranging from those serving on the Executive Council to Field-cornets in remote parts of the colony could understand both Dutch and English (Colenso 1855:90 and 120-121). On the proselytizing front the American missionary Daniel Lindley had learnt Dutch while serving as dominee (minister) for the Dutch-Reformed church in Pietermaritzburg during the days of the Republic of Natalia and was still conversant in Dutch ten years later (Ibid:235).

Settlement Template: Administrative, Erven, Units of Measure, Laagers, and Outspans

Administrative

In May 1844, shortly after Natal had been annexed, Secretary of State Lord Stanley encouraged the formation of local boards "... invested with extensive jurisdiction within their own districts and with powers of making bye-laws for the regulation of their local affairs" (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:63) to meet the wishes of Natal colonists. Stanley noted that such bodies were of vital importance to a young community, and he used New South Wales and the Canadian colonies, that had their own Legislatures, as cases

in point. Stanley¹ suggested that the newly acquired colony of Natal be divided into the three districts of Pietermaritzburg, Natal (Port Natal), and Weenen; these were the administrative districts used during the Dutch-Afrikaner period in the Republic of Natalia. Furthermore, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal was to delimit the boundaries of these local boards. He was also authorized to change the aforementioned boundaries by increasing the number of districts governed by separate local boards as the colony grew through the accretion of settlers and the formation of towns and villages (Ibid).

The location of the Colony's capital at Pietermaritzburg is a second example of British adherence to Dutch-Afrikaner precedents. In May 1846 Sir P. Maitland², governor of the Cape Colony, instructed Lieutenant-Governor Martin West to use his discretion in deciding whether to locate the Colony's capital in Pietermaritzburg or Port Natal [Durban]. Maitland maintained that he would support West should he decide to move the administrative capital from Pietermaritzburg to Durban if he deemed the former "inconvenient or unsafe" (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:90). The subsequent location of the colonial office and the administrative and legislative branches of the colonial government at Pietermaritzburg was a continuation of Dutch-Afrikaner precedents. Pietermaritzburg, in midland Natal, was the venue for Dutch-Afrikaner Volksraad meetings between 1839 and 1844.

¹ Lord Stanley to Sir P. Maitland (Governor of the Cape Colony) concerning the form of administration proposed for Natal by the British Government. May 25th, 1844. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:60-64).

² Sir P. Maitland to Lieutenant-Governor West on steps to be taken to stop emigration of Boers; military difficulties; and position of seat of government. May 26th, 1846. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:89-90.)

The appointment of field-cornets in British Natal is a third example of the persistence of a Dutch-Afrikaner institution albeit with British embellishment with the passage of time. Field-cornets (or veld-cornets) were appointed to serve as administrators at the ward-level of colonial government administration. Field-cornets also worked in conjunction with the Surveyor-General in the delimitation of Native Location boundary lines³ and aided constables and other law-enforcing officers in forcibly removing insubordinate Natives who squatted on private farms or unalienated Crown Lands.

The field-cornets duties included keeping a record of all eligible voters in their ward. This record included the following voter information: full name, place of abode, occupation, and the nature of qualification (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:135). Only males over 21 years of age who met one of the following criteria were eligible to vote: the elector had to either (i) own immovable property worth at least 50 pound or (ii) rent immovable property paying at least 10 pounds per annum in any ward. Aliens and those who had committed either treason, murder, rape, theft, fraud, perjury or forgery were barred from voting in local board elections (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:128-129). The field-cornet was also responsible for keeping the voters' register book which recorded individual voters names and who they voted for in local council elections held every alternate year. The field-cornet would forward the winner's name, including the

³ J. Boshof, Inspecting Officer at Mooi River and Umvoti reports farmer dissatisfaction at the Governments failure to move the Natives to Locations. June 6th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:94-95) and Ordinance: To prevent unlicensed squatting and to regulate the occupation of land by the Natives. February 16th, 1855. (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:201-204).

state of the poll, to the Resident Magistrate who published a list of the vote by ward for each county (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:129-130). The field-cornet was also active in administration and collection of rates or assessments levied by local councils for two-year periods on all immovable property within individual counties (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:131). By 1855 the appointment of field-cornets had become institutionalized in the Natal colonial government (Holden 1963:161). Dutch-Afrikaner citizens that continued to live in Natal after British annexation outnumbered Englishmen holding these positions after a decade of British hegemony. After July 15th, 1856⁴, when Natal became a separate (from the Cape Colony) colony with increased Executive and Legislative powers, the field-cornets were, in addition, to co-ordinating local council elections, also responsible for coordinating voter registration annually and elections of the Legislative Council every four years (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:311-313).

Erven

The use of the Dutch-Afrikaner term erf/erven in everyday speech as well as the physical presence of erven in the cultural landscape of urban colonial Natal was pervasive in the discourse/writing of all segments of colonial society ranging from officials to settlers and missionaries, and in towns and villages stretching from Port Natal to Ladysmith (See Table 22). Three years into the colony's life, the term erven/erf⁵ was used interchangeably with town allotments to refer to land grants in

⁴ Charter of Natal. July 15th, 1856. (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:306-316).

⁵ Martin West to the Governor (Cape Colony) on the progress made in issuing freehold titles to town allotments in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Weenen, and Congella. February 17th, 1847. E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:143-145).

Table 22

Selected Afrikanerisms Identified in British Natal

NAME	YEARS SPENT IN NATAL	YEAR(S) WRITTEN	TITLE OF WORK	AFRIKANDERISMS
Reverend Francis Owens	1834-1838	April 1837 to April 1838	Francis Owen in Settlers being extracts from the Journals and letters of early colonists in Canada, Australia South Africa & New Zealand	Spanned out (outspanned) (264) Indoonas (Indunas) (268,273,278) Boer(s) (Numerous references)
Reverend William Holden	Circa 1837-1852	1855	History of the Colony of Natal, South Africa	Kloof(245,102,109) Boer(s) (Numerous references) Laager/Vechllaager (88,89,92,95,99) Achter ryders (83) Riems (93) Landdrost(s) (95,96) Induna (97,176,74) Trck-touws (118) Biltong (124,125) Vley (124,32) Vrouw (128) Field cornets (163) Units of measure: currency: Stiver. schelling, rix-dollar (170) Weights & measures: muid (170,271) 272,278,290 Mealies (170) Karoo (263) Africander (type or breed of cattle) (283) Mylen (38)

(table cont'd)

Source: Compiled from Hale (n.d); Holden (1963); Mason (1855); Bergtheil (1849);

N.L. & C.C. (1866); Mann (1866); Currey (1958); Ingram (1895);

Harrison (1903).

Note:

Numbers in parentheses refer to page numbers in relevant sources

Table 22

NAME	YEARS SPENT IN NATAL	YEAR(S) WRITTEN	TITLE OF WORK	AFRIKANDERISMS
George H. Mason	1844-1845	1855	Life with the Zulus of Natal, South Africa	Boer (numerous references) Outspanned (96, 124, 125, 150, 203, 223) Vley (Valley) (111, 135, 169, 112, 136) 167, 169, 170, 175, 176, 186, 222) Erven/Erf (126, 135, 168, 108, 114) 125, 127, 134, 136, 137, 139, 167, 169, 170) 171, 172, 180, 192, 202) Laager (145, 75, 131, 146, 204-205) Commando (215, 216) Uys Dooms (103, 116) Kloof(s) (105, 141, 147, 152, 169, 226, 231) Roods (110) Street names: Pictemaritz, Boom. Greyling (106, 111) Burghers (114, 138) Struk Spruit (116) Slang Spruit (140) Drift (ford) (142) Mealie (158) Salting beef (Biltong) (176) Shambok (203) Vrow (212)
Jonas Bergtheil	Approx. 15-20	1848-1849	A Plan of Emigration to Natal on the system of Association.	Pakhuis (21, 22) Kruys Fontein (31) Weltevreden (31)
Bishop John William Colenso	January to March 1854	1855	Ten weeks in Natal. A Journal of a first tour of visitation among the colonists and Zulu Kafirs of	Sluit (188, 196, 209) Vley (193) Rood (51) Spruits (83) Vrouw (120, 144)

(table cont'd)

Table 22

NAME	YEARS SPENT IN NATAL	YEAR(S) WRITTEN	TITLE OF WORK	AFRIKANDERISMS
Bishop John William Colenso	cont/...	cont/...	Natal.	Nacht-maal (161-162) Span (11) Muid (35) Outspanned (39,87,170,234) Kloofs (48,186,187,247) Mealies (50,52,165,190,191) Veidt (177,185,249,264)
John Sheddon Dobie	1861-1865	Sept 1862 to Dec 1863	John Sheddon Dobie In: Settlers being extracts from the Journals and letters of early colonists in Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.	Mealies (285,287) Span (285) Berg (286,293,296) Outspanned (286,295) Sluit (291,297) Hock (295) Poorts (296) Karoo (297)
Natal Land & Colonization Company (N.L. & C.C.)	Unknown	Circa 1866	Plan of Assisted Emigration and land Settlement of the N.L. & C.C.	Berg wind (9) mealie (12,22) muid (12,22) Farm names: <u>Umvoti County</u> <u>Area (acres)</u> Umvoti vlei 3,103 (pg 33) Einzamheid 1,288 (Pg 33) Jammerdaal 3,012 (Pg 33) <u>Weenen County</u> <u>Area (acres)</u> Ebemberg 3,014 Plessis lager 6,120 Maritzdam 8,001 Deel Drift 8,272

(table cont'd)

Table 22

NAME	YEARS SPENT IN NATAL	YEAR(S) WRITTEN	TITLE OF WORK	AFRIKANDERISMS
Natal Land & Colonization Company (N.L. & C.C.)	cont/...	cont/...	cont/...	Brand Kraal 7,616 Alma 2,348 Mina 2,070 <u>Klip River County</u> <u>Area (acres)</u> Vreendenburg 8,060 Strasburg 3,001 Paarl 3,000 Paardevoetpad 2,025 (Pg 34) Roosdaal 3,016 Danskraal 4,006 Kleinfontein 2,894 Roosboom 5,833 Loskop 3,024 <u>Pietermaritzburg County</u> <u>Area (acres)</u> Sterkspruit 6,069 Wetevreden 5,975 Berg Vliet 2,018 Diepe Kloof 1,073 Vaalkop 200 <u>Victoria County</u> <u>Area (acres)</u> Spijoen Kop 536 Waterbosch 6,112 (pg 34) Doomkop 6,244 Veldt (sweet, sour, thorn) (numerous references in farm descriptions) Blaaukranz (40) Doomkloof (41) Sandspruit (42) Wilde kat Spruit (42) Boshock (35) Kloofs (35,44)

(table cont'd)

Table 22

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Table 22

NAME	YEARS SPENT IN NATAL	YEAR(S) WRITTEN	TITLE OF WORK	AFRIKANDERISMS
Thomas Phipson	cont/...	cont/...	cont/...	Knobkerrie (191,214) stoop (194) Mealie meal (201) Fabrick (207) Drift (212) Riem (215)
J. Forsyth Ingram	Unknown	Before 1895	The Colony of Natal. An official Illustrated Hand-book and Railway Guide	Krantz(10) Naartje (113,150) Vlei (118) Erven (140,174,177,248) Laager (140,182,225) Slang spruit (168) Zwaartkop (168,217) Kloofs (170,217) Sluits (183) Wilgefontein (203) Hoogeveld/High-veldt (203,259) Drift (205) Dronk vlei (208) Blinkwater maintain (218) Drakensberg (224,225,255) Kopjes (234) Stadthuis (238) Burgemeester (238) Landdrost (238) Volksraad (241) Spruit (245,257)
C.W. Francis Harrison	Unknown	Before 1903	Natal: An Illustrated Official Railway Guide and Handbook of General information	Kloof (44,91) Krantz (44,120) Dorpspruit (51) Zwaartkop (61)

(table cont'd)

Table 22

NAME	YEARS SPENT IN NATAL	YEAR(S) WRITTEN	TITLE OF WORK	AFRIKANDERISMS
C.W. Francis Harrison	cont/...	cont/...	cont/...	Winter's Kloof (65) Spruit (91) Kopjes (91, 120) Dongas (91) Elands laagte (120) Laager (164) Dronk vlei (205) mealies (207) sluits (209) Krantz-kop (211)

Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Weenen, and Congella (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:144). Later, settlers constituting the committee to draft regulations⁶ for the Pietermaritzburg municipality referred to differential water taxes for erven of different sizes. Landholders' owning a whole, a half, and a quarter erf (singular of erven) paid 10 shillings, 5 shillings, and 2 shillings 6 pence per annum respectively (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:185). The water-tax was a British addition to the Dutch-Afrikaner system of irrigating erven by channeling the dorpspruit to furrows along the grid-pattern streets. A year later the Resident Magistrate of Klip River county as well as the Surveyor-General of Natal referred to land allotments, collective and individual, in the township of Ladysmith, as erven and erf respectively⁷. Similarly in 1850, the first year that Native hut taxes were collected, one category of Natives exempt were those who had erected huts on erven and resided in these as paid servants⁸. Later in 1850 John Moreland, Byrne's settler agent recommended selling 1 acre erven for 10 pound each in Ladysmith township⁹. Table 22 provides a summary of the use of erf/erven in the

⁶ Draft of Regulations for the Municipality of Pietermaritzburg. August 2nd, 1847. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:184-195).

⁷ John Bird to the Secretary to Government, Natal urging that the proposed upset price of erven in the projected township of Ladysmith be substantially reduced. June 5th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:125-126); and Surveyor-General Stanger's report on Bird's recommendation that the upset price for erven in Ladysmith be reduced. June 18th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:157-158).

⁸ Instructions to Shepstone for the collection of Native hut tax. July 11th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:177-178).

⁹ Moreland's reply to the comments of committee of emigrants on proposed government notice for settlement of immigrants. February 20th, 1850. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:228).

discourse and writing of Natalians, including officials, settlers, and missionaries from the colony's inception until 1895.

Although the British adopted the Afrikanerism referring to these urban cadastres throughout the colony; the standard one-and-three-quarter acre (or 150 by 450 feet) Dutch-Afrikaner erf size in Natal was not replicated in all British settler towns and villages (Haswell 1984:17). Individual erf sizes varied from one-half-acre to two acres in the thirteen planned and platted government villages and towns in 1873 and 1880 respectively (Table 19 and 20). The variation in erf size is indicative of the experimentation, adaptation, and generally open-ended nature of the settlement process in colonial Natal. The example of Glendale township in the Tugela Division of Victoria County attests to this dynamic, fluid settlement process. In 1873 a total of 38 erven, each one-and-three-quarter acres in extent, were demarcated in Glendale township. By 1880 the government had reduced each of these 38 individual erven to one-half acre each probably in an effort to stimulate the sale of the remaining twenty unalienated erven. Therefore, in terms of government planned urban settlements, the persistence of Dutch-Afrikaner erf sizes is, by 1880, only noticeable in two settlements, namely, Weenen and Pietermaritzburg (Mason 1968:202 and Ingram 1895:182). Only in Nottingham township in Pietermaritzburg county did the Natal government allocate erven (2 acres each) in excess of Dutch-Afrikaner precedents. South Barrow and Stanger located in counties adjacent to the coast had the smallest individual erf sizes, namely, one-half acre. In 1880, Glendale township, another coastal British settler town, was added to these two one-half acre erven townships. However, one acre erven

predominated in British settler towns. All of these towns with the exception of Scottburgh and Harding were located in midland or interior Natal.

Thus far I have emphasized that an Afrikanerism referring to the urban cadastre in colonial Natal was borrowed by Anglo officials and settlers, persisted throughout the period under study, and that the impress of this Dutch-Afrikaner institution in Natal's cultural landscape was not uniform in extent but varied from one urban place to another. On individual erven themselves it appears that the cultivation of fruit including apples, peaches, cherries, pomegranates, figs, water-melon, grenadillos, bananas, and vines characteristic of the Dutch-Afrikaner townscape was continued after Natal became a British colony (Mason 1968:202 and Phipson 1968:12-13). Phipson's 1849 description of Pietermaritzburg's "...water [supply] as pure and perennial, and our erven as capable (if cultivated) of maintaining the population" reflects Natal's Dutch-Afrikaner town-planning influence that can be traced to seventeenth-century Cape Town in the western Cape and Graaff-Reinet and Grahamstown in the eastern Cape Colony (Phipson 1968:12 and Haswell 1979, 1980, and 1983a)¹⁰. In fact John Sheddon Dobie's observation of Cradock's townscape in 1863 while on one of three expeditions from Natal to the eastern Cape Colony to purchase sheep is indicative of the enduring influence of Dutch-Afrikaner town-planning: "Streets wide and ornamented with fruit trees and various others, peach and almond in full blossom. Along the open water sluit [furrow] that supplies the city, a fine row of thorns growing large and sweeping to the

¹⁰ South African Towns on European Plans. *Geographical Magazine* 51:686-694; The Voortrekker Dorps of Natal. *Natalia* 10:23-33; and Oudeklerksdorp and Weenen: Historic Dorpsgesigte worthy of Conservation. *Lantern* 4:31-38.

ground.." (Hale n.d. 297). Indeed the trilogy of erven, adjacent to wide streets to accommodate ox-drawn wagons; sluits that irrigated erven by channeling water from a river down the long streets; and raising fruit and other garden produce on individual erven was in evidence in the Pietermaritzburg British townscape giving it a distinctive Dutch-Afrikaner flavor.

Units of Measure

The statement contained in an ordinance enacted by the Natal Lieutenant-Governor and Legislative Council circa 1850 that "Dutch weights are the only legal weights in this colony" (cited in Holden 1963:170) confirms the persistence of Dutch-Afrikaner practice. This ordinance referred to the use of the Dutch-Afrikaner pound in lieu of the English pound. In practice the Dutch pound was slightly less than its English equivalent, namely, 92 Dutch pounds to 100 English pounds (Ibid). In terms of units of measure the muid was more widely used from the inception of the colony until the end date of this study (Table 22). One muid was equal to 3 imperial bushels (Cited in Holden 1963:170). Adoption of the muid as a unit of measure was adopted and institutionalized by residents of Pietermaritzburg¹¹ at an early date. In July 1847 in reference to the market regulations in Pietermaritzburg, the draftees of these regulations refer to quantities of produce in Dutch-Afrikaner units of measure. A charge of 2 pence per muid for grain, flour, meal, potatoes, indian corn, beans, peas, or any other grain would be levied by the market-master for produce brought to the Maritzburg market.

¹¹ Draft of Regulations for the Municipality of Pietermaritzburg. August 2nd, 1847. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:184-195).

This was in addition to a 6 pence flat rate charge levied to trade. To trade liquids including brandy, wine, and vinegar traders paid the market-master 6 pence per half aum (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:191-192).

The use of both Imperial currency and Dutch-Afrikaner units of measure is probably attributable to the committee consisting of Dutch-Afrikaner and English inhabitants: J. Boshoff, P. Ferreria, D.D. Buchanan, and A.T. Caldecott (Ibid:193). Although the aforementioned ordinance promulgated circa 1850 was challenged by a Bill¹² proposed (1865) by Colonel J.J. Bisset that "the imperial weights, scales, and measures of Great Britain shall be the standard ...to be used in [Natal] town[s] and hamlet[s]" the use of the muid in trade transactions continued throughout the colony (N.G.G. Volume 17(969) August 29, 1865:548) (Table 22). In 1866 the Natal Land and Colonization Company (N.L.& C.C.) noted that 8 to 12 muid were equivalent to 24 to 36 bushels. The Company found it necessary to clarify these differences in units of measure because Company officials were persistently answered in muid when asking farmers throughout the colony about corn and oats yields (N.L.& C.C. 1866:12). A Byrne immigrant, one Mr. Polkinghorne, a member of the 1876 Legislative Council Select Committee that made proposals intended to increase European immigration to Natal, referred to the muid when speaking of corn yields. He contended that failure to implant close-knit agricultural communities on the Colonial Reformers model in Natal was attributable to overproduction since Natives were also bringing corn to market. Overproduction drove

¹² Bill: To provide for the local management of small Towns and Hamlets, introduced into the Legislative council by His Excellency the Administrator of the Government. August 23rd, 1865.

prices down (3 shillings per muid) making crop farming an unprofitable enterprise (N.G.G. Volume 28(1613) October 17th, 1876:575). In the same vein Phipson noted that if Natal agriculturalists did not transport their harvested corn and potato products to mining markets in the interior Voortrekker Republics that their produce would spoil in the Pietermaritzburg Market Square where it would not sell for prices as low as 3 or 4 shillings per muid (Currey 1968:171).

Laagers

The Afrikanerism laager refers to temporary defensive structures constructed by Dutch-Afrikaner settlers by drawing numerous ox-wagon together to form a circular- or triangular shaped protective structure from within which war was waged with Xhosa and Zulu ethnocultural societies on the frontier (Pettman 1913:288; Branford 1987:191-192; and Mason 1968:204-205). The laager was a frontier adaptation that afforded security to semi-nomadic pastoralists and their families who lived on isolated farmsteads. In times of conflict, Dutch-Afrikaner families converged on one or more predetermined locations where temporary laagers were hastily constructed to serve as rallying points to wage warfare. Henry Cloete noted¹³ that Natal Voortrekkers left their farms after the influx of Zulu refugees, especially during June to August 1843, and assembled in laagers near Port Natal for protection (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:81). In instances where laagers were constructed on individual semi-nomadic pastoralists extensive farms, the farms would be named accordingly. Hence, Plessis Lager a 6,120

¹³ Henry Cloete to Cape Colony Governor on the settlement of Natives in Natal, schedule of tribes originally settled there. November 10th, 1843. (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:77-81).

acre grazing farm that the N.L.& C.C. had previously acquired, revealed the name (Du Plessis) of its previous Dutch-Afrikaner occupant and that it was situated in a part of Weenen County that was advantageous for defensive purposes (N.L.& C.C. 1866:34). However, in some instances more permanent (sod or stone) defensive laagers were constructed to afford protection. Mason, who wandered about aimlessly for two hours after losing his bearings on the rudimentary road that connected Pietermaritzburg with Richmond, where he was to claim his 20-acre Byrne allotment in 1844, stumbled upon the remnants of a previously permanent Boer laager (Mason 1968:145). His description of this laager conveys the essential geographical ingredients of these defensive structures:

I suddenly fell upon an old Dutch laager (camp of refuge), composed of sods packed one upon another, so as to form a strong high bank enclosing a considerable space. The position of the laager was well chosen, it being protected on two sides by a deep broad morass; while the other two sides overlooked the extensive plain I had then crossed, so that a Caffre attack could only be made on two sides, and even then the open character of the country would make a successful attack almost impossible (Ibid).

Although a Draft Ordinance framed and presented to the Natal Legislative Council by Lieutenant-Governor Benjamin Pine¹⁴ empowered the local council of each county to frame by-law legislation and made these councils responsible for the maintenance of county infrastructure including the construction and maintenance of laagers, it appears that no progress was made on construction of the latter (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:130). Therefore, although usage of this Afrikanerism was widespread throughout the colony

¹⁴ Draft of an Ordinance "To establish Local Councils, and to provide for the better government of the different parts of the district" presented to the Natal Legislative Council. September 1853. (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:127-135).

during the period under study (Table 22); contemplation, planning, and actual construction of permanent laagers on the Voortrekker model did not occur in British Natal until 1863 when a Select Committee of the Legislative Council raised the issue (N.G.G. Volume 15(767) July 21st, 1863:4). Three years later another Legislative Council Select Committee took the untended matter up again. This Committee recommended that provision be made for the construction of barracks and laagers as rallying points for defence of the Colony and the safety of the settlers from Zulu invasions, attacks, and concomitant plunder and death. Furthermore, the Committee anticipated that this construction would require "considerable expenditure" since they suggested that more than one laager be constructed in each of the eight magisterial districts to ensure public safety (N.G.G. Volume 17(964) July 25th, 1865:452).

The ability of this Select Committee to bring about, previously impotent attempts, at the construction of laagers and other defensive infrastructure is manifest in: (a) the increase in money earmarked for construction and (b) an increase in the actual number of laagers and defensive military posts throughout the colony on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879. Between 1869 and 1871 a total of 86p 15s 10p¹⁵ was spent on laagers and defensive posts in Natal. This minuscule expenditure was rapidly increased to 19,725p 7s 1p in the five years from 1874 until 1878 (B.P.P. Volume 15 1880-81:402). In terms of defensive structures actually constructed, before 1874 there were

¹⁵ The p, s, p designation when referring to Imperial currency refers to pounds, shilling, and pence respectively. The total expenditure for each year was: 1869 (39p 8s 1p); 1870 (18p 9s 6p); 1871 (28p 18s 3p); 1874 (460p 7s 8p); 1875 (5,412p 11s 11p); 1876 (4,596p 9s 11p); 1877 (4,739p 8s 1p); and 1878 (4,516p 9s 6p) (Ibid).

only two laagers in Natal, one at Greytown and another at Ladysmith (Ibid:398). These two permanently constructed laagers were described as "old fashioned [Boer] laagers" by Lieutenant-Governor Henry Bulwer in 1880 since they afforded protection to families, wagons carrying household possessions, as well as teams of oxen (Ibid). After 1875 there was a rapid increase in the number of defensive structures constructed (Table 23 and Figure 27). By 1880 the colonial government distinguished between three types of defensive structures, namely, (i) military posts of defence, (ii) laagers, and (iii) colonial government posts of defence. Furthermore, by 1880 there were 3 permanently constructed structures in the first category, 6 in the second, and 17 in the third category (Table 23 and Figure 27).

The years in which these defensive structures were erected and their geographical distribution are instructive. Since, this section is concerned with laagers I limit my observations to the timing and placement of the 6 laagers in Natal. All the laagers were located in either midland or interior Natal (Table 23 and Figure 27). The location of two laagers each in Newcastle, Weenen, and Umvoti magisterial districts was not fortuitous. The Umvoti and Newcastle districts shared a common border with Zululand and all three divisions were adjacent to or close (Umvoti county) to the Klip River division where Native resistance to British colonial rule was most marked¹⁶. Furthermore, the laagers were situated within 10 to 18 miles of the major towns of Dundee, Greytown, and Estcourt in interior Natal and all of them were built before 1879. Overall the construction of more defensive structures at earlier dates in

¹⁶ Discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Table 23

Defensive Structures: Number, Type, Location, and Year of Construction

COUNTY/ DIVISION	IMPERIAL MILITARY POSTS (A)	COLONIAL GOVERN. MILITARY POSTS (B)	LAAGER	TOTAL	LOCATION (A)	LOCATION (B)	YEAR LAAGER(S) CONSTRUCTED
Newcastle	1 0	2	2 (18,8)	5	Newcastle (10)	Newcastle (10) Dundee (8)	1877, 1878
Klip river	0	1	0	1	-	Ladysmith (48)	Before 1874
Umsinga	0	1	0	1	-	Umsinga (18)	1879
Upper Tugela	0	1	0	1	-	Upper Tugela (95)	1879
Weenen	0	3	2 (93,66)	5	-	Estcourt (80,80) Ulundi (95)	1876, 1879
Umvoti	0	1	2 (54,22)	3	-	Greytown (35)	Before 1874 Improved 1877
Lower Tugela	0	2	0	2	-	Stanger (12) Williamstown (24)	1877, ?
Inanda(i)	0	1	0	1	-	Verulam (40)	1879
Umgweni	1	1	0	2	Pmburg	Pmburg (68)	-
Umlazi	1	0	0	1	Durban (55)	-	-
Umkomanzi	0	1	0	1	-	Richmond (85)	1878
Ipolela	0	0	0	0	-	-	-
Ixopo	0	1	0	1	-	Ixopo (104)	1879
Alexandra	0	1	0	1	-	Umzinto (88)	1878
Alfred	0	1	0	1	-	Harding (133)	1879
TOTAL	3	17	6	26			

Source: Compiled from British Parliamentary Paper (1880)

Note:

Numbers in parentheses are miles from Zulu Border

geographical locations close to Zululand is evident. The construction (in 1877) of a defensive post at Stanger, just 12 miles from the Zulu border occurred before similar posts were constructed at Richmond (85 miles) and Umzinto (88 miles) in 1878, and Ixopo (104 miles) and Harding (133 miles) in 1879. In conclusion it is noted that after years of British neglect to maintain Dutch-Afrikaner laagers and to construct additional defensive structures the colonial government was forced by the circumstance of an impending Anglo-Zulu War to construct military posts, laagers, and colonial government defensive posts commencing in 1875. The Dutch-Afrikaner laager figured prominently in the colony's strategy to defend residents and wage war with the Zulu, especially in interior Natal.

Outspans¹⁷

Travellers of Anglo stock who travelled by ox-wagon throughout the colony continually wrote of outspanning (Table 22). This Afrikanderism, derived from Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists in Natal, was used in two contexts and by 1870 was an institutionalized feature of the Natal settlement system (N.G.G. Volume 32(1803) January 20th, 1880:L.C. No. 26). In the first context, "to outspan" referred to physically taking oxen from the yoke so that they could feed and rest (Hale n.d.:264; Colenso 1855:39, 87, 170, 234; and Currey 1968:9-10, 212). Hence, when observers in Natal wrote that they "spanned out" or "outspanned" they were referring to the act. Pettman so ably captures "outspan" in its second context noting that "at intervals along

¹⁷ Pettman 1913:355 and Branford 1987:257 provide definitions of "outspan" and "to outspan" in both a historical and contemporary context in South African society.

the roads in South Africa spaces are beacons off, some public, others private, where animals may be outspanned and allowed to graze; these places are known as outspans" (Pettman 1913:355).

It is possible that the outspan as a feature of the Natal settlement system was derived from the Cape Colony. While travelling in the eastern Cape Colony in 1863, Dobie noted that the official demarcation of outspans enabled travellers to stop, rest, and graze their livestock without fear of prosecution for trespassing on private property (Hale n.d.:295). In Natal, as in the Cape Colony, public outspans were legislated and set aside. This was promulgated by Law 9, 1870 (N.G.G. Volume 32(1803) January 20th, 1880:L.C. No. 26). In Natal, however, the creation of public outspans in the settlement system was associated with combatting lung sickness (N.G.G. Volume 22(1238) July 5th, 1870:L.C. No. 2; and July 12th, 1870:L.C. No. 5). Although institutionalized outspans, like laagers, were of necessity a late addition to the Natal settlement system; the act of outspanning prior to the outbreak of lung sickness in 1870 became part and parcel of British settlers' and missionaries' lives at an early date while travelling through the colony. However, although these British travellers wrote with nostalgia about outspanning, the practicalities of wagon travelling commencing with selection of the most suitable routes and deciding when and where to outspan were decisions made by experienced Khoikhoi, Dutch-Afrikaner, and Zulu wagon drivers (Mason 1968:124, 203, 223). Enjoyment of evening meals, prepared over crackling wood fires, while livestock watered added an experiential dimension to wagon travel and life in Natal that was shared with kith and kin through letters destined for Britain (Currey 1968:9-10).

Extensive Open-Range Livestock Grazing in Interior Natal

Land and settlement policy during the first thirteen years of the colony's life were critical in the making of the Natalian settlement system. In this section I emphasize the continuity of Dutch-Afrikaner land and settlement policy in midland and interior Natal between 1844 and 1856. It was during this time when Natal was administered as a territory of the Cape Colony, that Dutch-Afrikaner antecedent patterns were adopted. Following Natal representative government in 1856, granting settlers extensive landholdings was refined and institutionalized, particularly in the years 1865-66, through efforts of the Natal Legislative Council. Moreover, during the period 1865 to 1879, the reluctant pre-1856 Executive Council acknowledgement that there were distinct geographical localities in Natal, some suited to cash-crop agriculture and others to raising grains and pasturing horned cattle and sheep, came to fruition through debate and compromise between the Executive Council, the Legislative Council, and the Secretary of State in his London office. In this process New Zealand and particularly Australian models helped fashion the fluid and pliable Natal settlement system.

1843 to 1856

As early as April 1847, the British colonial government commenced selling farms ranging from between 100 and 2,000 acres at 2 to 4 shillings per acre¹⁸. The latter farm sizes were comparable to those of Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:154). In March 1848 the Surveyor-general was instructed to grant farms of

¹⁸ Proclamation by Martin West announcing sale of Crown Lands. April 14th, 1847. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:154-155)

6,000 acres to claimants of second class farms following Harry Smith's proclamation of February 10th, 1848¹⁹. The Land Commission constituted under the latter proclamation asserted later that month that all second class farms should not exceed 3,000 morgen "...except near the coast, where the lands are not adapted for grazing but more for cultivation..." (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:244)²⁰. Furthermore, the commission was extremely critical of Smith's 1848 proclamation that stipulated that recipients of second class farms be limited to 6,000 acres. The aforementioned quote by Kyle and the Land Commission's vociferous opposition to limiting second class farms to 6,000 acres is indicative of the adoption of the Dutch-Afrikaner Volksraad practice of granting open-range grazers 3,000 morgen (6,000 acre) farms in midland and interior Natal. Despite the Land Commission's overwhelming opposition, amongst other, to limiting second class recipients to 6,000 acres in total, West refused to alter his instructions to the Surveyor-General of March 21st, 1848²¹. However, within about six weeks after West's refusal, Sir Harry Smith re-evaluated all previous British land decrees and regulations, commencing with Cloete's 1843 recommendations and concluding with his proclamation of February 10th, 1848.

¹⁹ West to Surveyor-General. March 21st, 1848. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:242-243) and Government Notice of February 16th, 1848 dissolved the Native Commission appointed on March 30th, 1846 so that the Commission appointed by Sir Harry Smith on February 10th, 1848 could carry out Smith's views fully (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:214)..

²⁰ Captain H.D. Kyle, Secretary of Land Commission to Lieutenant-Governor West. March 24th, 1848. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:244).

²¹ Moodie (Secretary of Government, Natal) to Secretary of Government (Cape Colony). April 3rd, 1848. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:243).

These revised instructions²² for the guidance of the Land Commission are instructive in that they provide further evidence that the British Executive Council formally adopted and legislated the Dutch-Afrikaner practice of granting grazing farms of 3,000 morgen to settlers in midland and interior Natal. Smith proclaimed Cloete's May 12th, 1843 proclamation that distinguished between class I and II (see Chapter 3) claimants null and void. From hence forth claimants in class II were entitled to receive a full farm of 3,000 morgen and they could lay claim to more than one such farm. In effect claimants in class I and II were put on the same footing; in practice this entitled them to more than one 3,000 morgen farm if they so wished (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:290). The only restriction placed on recipients (or their heirs) of 3,000 morgen farms was that for 7 years they would not sell or let to hire the farm(s) granted in whole or part without the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor (Ibid:292). In addition to claimants in class I and II, Smith recognized a third category of farm claimants, namely, those Dutch-Afrikaners who had farms registered (but uninspected) in the books of the Volksraad. These claimants were also entitled to 3,000 morgen farm(s). A final category of claimants also entitled to one 3,000 morgen farm included: (a) individuals resident in or beyond (west) the Drakensberg, (b) Dutch-Afrikaners resident in Natal who desired to settle there permanently but did not possess a farm, and (c) Dutch-Afrikaners who previously had a farm registered in their name but who had subsequently parted with their title-deeds (Ibid:292).

²² Sir Harry Smith's, Governor of the Cape Colony, Minute on Land Settlement in Natal. May 24th, 1848. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:290-292).

There was, however, a geography to the Crown's recognition and adoption of Dutch-Afrikaner precedents. Dutch-Afrikaner claimants in the fourth category would only be granted their farms "beyond the Tugela". This referred to the triangular-shaped area that lay on the periphery of the Colony and was bounded by the Tugela river, from its source in the Drakensberg to its confluence with the Buffalo river, in the south; the Buffalo river separating Natal from Zululand in the east; and the Drakensberg Mountains that ran from the Tugela to the Buffalo rivers in the north (Figure 14).

On occasion West did depart from the practice of only granting land to these Dutch-Afrikaner claimants "beyond the Tugela". This was in response to the Land Commission's dilemma of having to decide whether to honor nine Dutch-Afrikaner petitions (April 1848) for farms "this side of the Tugela" because according to Smith's Minute they were ineligible²³. The Commission recommended that West sanction their requests for land "this side of the Tugela" because a rejection would create a feeling of uneasiness²⁴.

Furthermore, the Commission asserted that it would be more beneficial to locate them "this side of the Tugela" because this would free additional land on the "other side of the Tugela" for parties whom the February 10th, 1848 proclamation was actually

²³ West to Land Commission informing them that he will carry out their recommendation (June 17th, 1848) of granting land to claimants "this side of the Tugela" without the consent of Smith. June 19th, 1848. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:286).

²⁴ Land Commission to West requesting that he confirm their enclosed recommendations (see footnote 25), or refer them to Smith, since his Minute of May 24th, 1848 makes these applicants ineligible for land except on the "other side of the Tugela". (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:285-286).

intended to benefit. Relations between West and the Land Commission and West and Smith were not always amicable²⁵.

Dutch-Afrikaner claimants in categories one through three were granted 3,000 morgen farms south of this triangular-shaped geographical locality. There were, however, restrictions as to the extent of these farms and where they could be located. Individual farms of claimants in classes I and II, for example, whose original claims were "adjacent to the coast" would not exceed 1,500 morgen (3,000 acres) because these "...lands are comparatively unsuitable for grazing purposes but very fit for agriculture" (Ibid:291). Later in his Minute, Smith asserted that any individual in the first three categories entitled to a coastal or agricultural farm, which was limited to 1,500 morgen, could elect to receive a 3,000 morgen farm "in any other part of the district" in lieu of the coastal grant (Ibid:292). It was evident that by 1848 the British continued the Dutch-Afrikaner precedent of granting 3,000 morgen pastoral runs in midland and interior Natal. Limiting Dutch-Afrikaner claimants to farms of 1,500 morgen in geographical localities "adjacent to the coast" is evidence of Imperial tinkering. Coastal Crown land was deemed more valuable and therefore rationed in anticipation of profits to be derived from the then rudimentary cash crop industry when it matured.

²⁵ West to Smith (Governor of Cape Colony) complaining that the Land Commission is encroaching on his authority. June 21st, 1848. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:283-285); West to Smith in response to the latter's criticism of the land settlement policy of the Natal Government. August 8th, 1848. (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:345-347); and West to Smith asking for further instructions for granting of land. October 6th, 1848. (Ibid:354-356).

The decision to continue granting extensive pastoral landholdings was influenced, in no small measure, by the Crown's desire to keep as many white people in Natal as possible because of the 80,000 to 100,000 indigenous Natives resident within the colony's boundaries by 1848 (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:78 and 321; G.G. Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:411; and N.N.C. 1881-82:32). Figure 14 depicts the distribution of Dutch-Afrikaner and British settler farms in Natal circa 1850. This map compiled by Surveyor-General Stanger²⁶ depicts farms granted under Cloete's 1843 regulations, Smith's 1848 proclamation, and freehold grants to recent immigrants (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:240). This map formed the basis for Pine's comprehensive report on the status of settlement in Natal approximately two years after Smith's revised proclamations. Pine²⁷ was extremely critical of the liberal land granting policy of the Land Commission to claimants in the third category, who he deemed were taking advantage of Smith's revised proclamation (Ibid:239). The Secretary to Government, Moodie's assertion that the Land Commission were "too lavish [in the] granting of land" and Pine's concurrence that the Land Commission had abused the prescriptions set forth in Smith's third category indicate that Smith's revised 1848 proclamation, rooted in Dutch-Afrikaner precedents, had been implemented (Ibid:239) (See Figure 14). A total of 312 individuals were granted farms totalling 1,419 422 acres collectively. Of these

²⁶ Surveyor-General submits a map showing the amount of land in Native Locations, amount granted to European settlers and amount of Crown Land available. September 10th, 1850. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:251-252).

²⁷ Lieutenant-Governor Pine reports to Sir Harry Smith on land settlement and emigration. November 1st, 1850. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:236-246).

186 were Dutch-Afrikaner, 86 were British subjects, and 11 were foreigners, particularly Germans. The remaining 29 grants were to discharged soldiers and sailors who were granted town and suburban allotments (Ibid:237).

The geography of these grants is evident (Figure 14). The majority of Land Commission farms were located in Klip River and Umvoti counties, respectively. Both counties were separated from Panda's Zulu Kingdom by the Tugela river. The location of Land Commission farms along both the Tugela "...in places where it is desirable to settle a warlike population" (Ibid:240) and on the "other side of the Tugela" served as buffer zones between the cattle pilfering Zulu and marauding San respectively and the inhabitants of the colony concentrated in Pietermaritzburg, the administrative capital, and Durban, the entrepot whose hinterland extended as far as the capital. Earlier Shepstone had suggested²⁸, and later facilitated, the settlement of refugee tribes from Zululand under the chiefs Langalibalele, Putile, Rudarada, and Umnangalala on the upper reaches of the Bushmans and Little Tugela Rivers in Klip River county. He concluded that "this arrangement places a belt of Kafirs as near to the Drakenberg [sic] as they could inhabit, which would protect the farmers of the Great and Little Tugela, the Blue Krantz and Bushmans Rivers from any inroads of the Bushmen from over the Draakensberg [sic]" (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:99). Later that year M.J. Oosthuyse, assistant to Shepstone, reported that he had temporarily allowed segments of tribes under Mavuka, Langalibalele, Putile, and Radarada to reside on two full (6,000 acres

²⁸ Shepstone reports on the removal of Klip River Natives to Locations. May 20th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:98-101).

each) unoccupied farms and one half (3,000 acres) unoccupied farm outside of the Native location in the Klip River district because of the poor condition of the grazing lands during the dry season²⁹. "I [Oosthuysen] trust the Government will not allow two or three isolated and at present unoccupied farms to interfere with the very desirable arrangement of locating a belt of Natives [protection from the San] along the base of the Draakenberg [sic], by which the interest of the whole division will be advanced and furthered" (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:181). When Native resistance to forced removal persisted Shepstone advocated controlled, coerced force because he feared that a repressive Government crackdown accompanied with the destruction of property would cause the Natives to flee and thereby remove the Native buffer zone between the colonists and the San³⁰.

The importance of the inhabitants security was a persistent theme and shaper of the settlement system in colonial Natal³¹. In fact, Stanger espoused a threefold plan to coerce Boers resident in and outside of Natal to settle in these border districts. First, Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists would be granted 5,000 acre farms at prices well below 4 shillings per acre (standard price for colony at that time) that could be paid for in one

²⁹ M.J. Oosthuysen to Colonial Office explaining slight alterations in arrangements for the removal of Klip River Natives. July 19th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:181).

³⁰ Shepstone reports on measures adopted to expel Natives from the Klip River area. October 14th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:197-201).

³¹ Pine's proposals for the colonization of Zulu borders by Boers. March 30th, 1853. (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:118-119); and Stanger's concurrence in which he asserted that populating and cultivating these borders "is of more importance to the welfare of the district than the actual cash received by the sale of Crown lands". April 20th, 1853. (Ibid:119-120).

of two ways: (a) by paying an annual quitrent of 15 pound for 20 years; hereafter the quitrent was reduced to 4 pound per annum or (b) if a pastoralist paid 100 pound immediately, then the perpetual quitrent would be 6 pound per annum. Secondly, the grantor was responsible for the survey expenses. And finally, although farms were granted on condition of occupation, occupation need not be personal and the land could be alienated or mortgaged at the proprietor's will (E.C. 1853-56 Volume 4:120). Later in the year Pine endorsed Stanger's proposals in order to attract Boers resident in Transvaal and Zululand to occupy these border regions on the periphery of the colony. Furthermore, Stanger and Pine envisioned³² extending the aforementioned proposals to other geographical localities within the colony at a later date:

Although in this despatch I [Pine] have only requested Your Grace [Secretary of State] to permit the arrangement for the sale of land to be altered in one locality, [Zulu-Natal border region] yet I concur in the opinion of the Surveyor-General [Stanger] that the circumstances of the district require that a similar modification should be made as to other portions of it; but I shall have the honor of calling Your Grace's attention to this subject upon a future occasion" (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:123).

After 1850 and throughout the remainder of the study period the Natal Colonial government continued, with the Dutch-Afrikaner precedent of granting extensive landholdings³³ despite the opposition of Colonial Office officials in London³⁴. Grey expressed concern that "such extravagant quantities of land have been thrown into the

³² Pine to Secretary of State RE: The movement of Transvaal Boers to settle in the Klip River area. June 3rd, 1853. (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:120-123).

³³ Discussed in the settlement expansion section in chapter 6.

³⁴ Earl Grey, Secretary of State, to Pine in response to the latter's report on land claims in Natal and the status of settlement. April 2nd, 1851. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:272-273).

hands of a class of people [Dutch-Afrikaner] by whom it ...cannot be used and will not be retained" (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:272) and that this will hinder "the natural and salutary course of settlement" (Ibid:272). Even Henry Francis Fynn who had previously been in the employ of the British government in both the Cape and Natal requested a 6,000 acre farm on the Ilovo river approximately 25 miles south of the port in 1855³⁵. By March 1856, on the eve of representative government for Natal, Acting Lieutenant-Governor Henry Cooper issued a proclamation³⁶, sanctioned by the High Commissioner Sir George Grey, that unappropriated Crown Lands in Pietermaritzburg, Umvoti, Weenen, and Klip River counties would be disposed of in farms that ranged from between 1,500 and 3,000 acres upon payment of an annual quitrent of not less than 6 pound per farm granted.

1856 to 1879

In 1876 Lieutenant-Governor Bulwer summed-up the pastoral nature of settlement in midland and interior Natal, thereby acknowledging the initial and persistent Dutch-Afrikaner influence on the Natalian settlement system when he said that:

The habits of the Dutch emigrant farmers who came here from the Old Colony [Cape] had been pastoral, and they introduced into Natal and have for the most part maintained the system of large farms- tracts of land ranging from 3,000 to 8,000 and 10,000 acres in size, unenclosed, unfenced, with perhaps a single homestead, and here and there a patch of Indian corn, but otherwise altogether given up as grazing land for cattle, sheep, etc., and the example set by these first Dutch

³⁵ H.F. Fynn to the High Commissioner petitioning that he be granted a farm as a reward for past services to the Cape and Natal governments. November 5th, 1855. (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:245-248).

³⁶ Proclamation Number 37, 1856: Regulations for the sale of Crown Lands. March 11th, 1856. (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:292-294).

emigrants has been to a great extent followed by the English colonists (N.G.G. Volume 28(1609) September 19th, 1876 L.C. No. 12:506).

Later in this correspondence³⁷ Bulwer attributed the disproportion between the small number of European settlers (21,045 in 1876) and the large acreages alienated (approximately 6 million acres) to these extensive pastoral landholdings and equally large tracts of land in the hands of land speculators. The persistence of this rural cadastre was, however, not a forgone conclusion. Prior to 1856 it was noted that the persistence of this Dutch-Afrikaner institution was out of necessity. Natal was devoid of White settlers, overrun with Natives; Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists were induced to stay in the colony by acknowledging this Voortrekker institution. The persistence, although smaller in extent (1,500 to 3,000 acres each) of the Dutch-Afrikaner rural cadastre during this period was the creation of a dialectic between Natal's elected Legislative Council on the one hand and the Crown on the other, that is, the Natal Executive Council and the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Britain.

After Natal became a separate colony from the Cape on July 15 1856, the elected Legislative Council increasingly challenged the previously authoritarian Executive Council and played a more active role in shaping land and settlement policy. The Legislative Council was the settlers' mouthpiece. After 1863 members of Legislative Council Select Committees' championed cattle and sheep farming in midland and interior Natal on landholdings that ranged from between 1,000 and 5,000 acres in

³⁷ Minute on Land and Immigration by Lieutenant-Governor Henry Bulwer. September 1876. (N.G.G. Volume 28(1609) September 19th, 1876 L.C. No. 12:506-509).

tandem with agriculture in the coastal districts. This dual approach to colonization and settlement in Natal was initially advocated (circa 1863 to 1866) by members of the L.C. and was adopted by the Natal E.C. by 1876 (N.G.G. Volume 15(768), July 28th, 1863:261; S.D. 1866 Number 16:4, 5, 26, 29-30; N.G.G. Volume 18(1036), November 27th, 1866 L.C. No.1:519-521; N.G.G. Volume 28(1609), September 19th, 1876 L.C. No.11:508-509; N.G.G. Volume 28(1613), October 17th, 1876 L.C. No.15:571).

The case for a multifaceted approach to colonization and settlement that took heed of geographical factors including precipitation, elevation, and the suitability of soil for intensive agriculture was most ably put by Walter MacFarlane, Resident Magistrate of Weenen County, in 1865. His approach was threefold. First, coastal Natal should be reserved for tropical plantation productions, including coffee, sugar, tobacco, and cotton. Secondly, he advocated that Crown Land in the "midland districts", centered on Pietermaritzburg, be sown mainly with grains and supplemented with stock farming. Finally, MacFarlane proposed that Natal's "upland districts" be characterized with stock breeding including a combination of sheep, horned cattle, goats, mules, horses, and angora goats (S.D. 1866 Number 16:29-30). Although these members had slight differences concerning the size of individual sheep-farming landholdings, the price of land, and type of land-tenure (lease, rent, or freehold), they all agreed that sheep and cattle raising on extensive landholdings should be followed in midland and interior Natal. The decision by the Natal E.C. to sanction sheep farming on 1,500 acre leased landholdings for up to 16 years at an initial price of 1 penny per acre per annum that

would be increased to 3 pennies per acre per annum by the end of the sixteenth year sounded victory for Natal settlers, since the E.C. had previously resisted allocating large tracts of land to sheep and cattle farmers. Furthermore, this land could be purchased at any time (from 4 to 10 shillings per acre) during the lease (S.D. 1866 Number 16:4). Bulwer's acceptance, by 1876, of extensive open-range sheep raising, even though he deemed agriculture to be a "more advanced stage of colonization" is indicative of the E.C.'s, albeit reluctant, acceptance that settlement in Natal would not be modelled on the Colonial Reformer's plan in its entirety (N.G.G. Volume 28(1609), September 19th, 1876 L.C. No.11:507).

In framing a settlement model that made provision for both pastoralism and agriculture, Natal Legislative Council officials³⁸ were influenced by pastoral settlement policy in Australia and New Zealand in modifying antecedent Dutch-Afrikaner extensive open-range pastoralism (S.D. 1864 Number 8:3; N.G.G. Volume 18(1036), November 27th, 1866 L.C. No.1:522). Australian policy made provision for granting pastoralists temporary squatting licenses that were terminated when Crown Land was needed for settled agriculture (S.D. 1866 Number 16:38). In July 1866 Mr Murdoch, chairman of Her Majesty's Emigration Board in London, noted that in the Australian colonies land is divided into two classes, namely A and B. The Crown Land included in the former class was either located close to towns or settlements, on the coast, along the banks of rivers, or in situations that would be required for early occupation; class B

³⁸ Natal Legislative Council to Lieutenant-Governor Scott, September 28th, 1863. (S.D. 1864 Number 8:1-3).

included all other Crown Land. Grazing licenses in class A were terminable at the end of each year, while those in B were terminable after eight years occupation. Murdoch suggested that this policy be implemented in Natal but that class B licenses be terminable after five years in Natal because the colony was not as extensive as Australia³⁹.

Native Labor, Registration and Identification Tokens

The colonial government distinguished between three categories of Native laborers in Natal: (1) "indigenous Natal Natives" identified by Cloete (See Chapter 4) who resided in the prescribed Native Locations (See Section 2 Chapter 7); (2) Zulu refugees who permanently resided in the Colony, generally in Locations as well; and (3) after 1869, foreign Native laborers who hailed from Swaziland, Mozambique, and other parts of southern Africa north of Natal.

With respect to Natal Natives, the colonial government adopted the Dutch-Afrikaner institutions that restricted the number of Native families who could permanently reside and work on white farmers property and that forced individual Natives to carry identification tokens that may be described as crude descriptive caricatures. To be sure, the 1852/53 Native Commission suggested that in cases where Natives were not living in the prescribed locations, only five to six kraals should be allowed on each white occupied farm (N.G.G. Volume 14(720), August 19th, 1862:412). This same policy was recommended by residents of the Republic of Natalia and enacted by the Volksraad

³⁹ Murdoch to Elliot (Member of the Emigration Board) in response to the many suggestions for the pastoral colonization of Natal (N.G.G. Volume 18(1036), November 27th, 1866 L.C. No.1:519-524).

during the last two years of Dutch-Afrikaner government in Natal. The persistence of the second Volksraad practice, namely tokens, to assure a reliable supply of Native labor through written contracts was adopted by the British government shortly after the Colony was annexed in 1843. Henry Cloete suggested that:

The adult males belonging to each station [or 6 locations that he envisioned], might be distinguished by a plate or medal (of which they are very proud), with the number of the station to which they belong; and an entire liberty might then be allowed them to enter into contracts of service with the neighbouring farmers, subject to the approval of the superintendent of each station...(E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:81).

Although these two institutions had Dutch-Afrikaner precedents, they were so modified and refined over the course of time that they reflected a British colonial government's response to unfolding events and circumstances⁴⁰. The settlement process was indeed dynamic; evolving as an adaptation to localized conditions that could not be anticipated by architects of neat, theoretical colonial settlement models in colonial offices located in London, Cape Town, and Pietermaritzburg.

A first strategy, without Dutch-Afrikaner roots, that the British developed when Zulu refugees continued to voluntarily flee southward into Natal, was to enslave these refugees fleeing Zululand for the first three years of their residency in the Colony. In 1856, for example, 872 of the approximately 4,500 Zulu refugees entering Natal were assigned to work for white residents throughout the colony. In geographical terms, they were located primarily in the coastal counties or divisions of the Colony: Durban

⁴⁰ Henry Cloete to Cape Colony Governor on the settlement of Natives in Natal, schedule of tribes originally settled there. November 10th, 1843. (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:77-81).

County 419, Inanda Division 224, Tugela Division 87, Pietermaritzburg County 60, Umvoti county 43, Klip River County 25, and the Lower and Upper Umkomanzi Divisions 11 and 3 each respectively (S.D. 1857 No. 43:1). Hereafter, isolated references to assigning Native refugees to labor upon their arrival in Natal were made (S.D. 1858 No. 23:3 and S.D. 1860 No. 21:1) in the L.C. records. In fact, detailed and comprehensive record-keeping on the number of Zulu refugees entering Natal and the number that were assigned to labor were kept between 1854 and 1864 (Table 24). This strategy was relatively successful since over this 11-year period just over half (3,792 souls or 53%) of the total number of Native refugees (7,194) entering Natal were apprenticed or assigned to settlers. Furthermore, in terms of success rates (ie., the number of Natives assigned as a percentage of the total number entering Natal) there is no correlation between high percentages and coastal counties. The political divisions of Durban (97%) and Tugela (27%) illustrate this in coastal Natal while Klip River (90%) and Weenen (14%) highlight the pattern in interior Natal. In midland Natal a similar trend is observed, namely, Umvoti county (78%) and Pietermaritzburg county (33%). Nevertheless, throughout the colonial period sojourners, officials, and settlers remarked that Natives provided labor to white farmers in return to reside rent free on their farms (Mason 1968:206; Hale n.d.:290; N.L.& C.C. 1866:20; and Currey 1968:179). The practice of assigning Native refugees upon their arrival in Natal was, in part, facilitated by an agreement⁴¹ (1840's) between the Natal Lieutenant-Governor

⁴¹ Statement of an interview between Dr. Kelly (Resident Magistrate, Greytown) and Panda's messengers. June 19th, 1855. (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:207-208).

Table 24

Number of Native Refugees Entering Natal and Assigned to Labor:
1854 to 1864

MAGISTRACIES	1854		1855		1856		1857	
	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.
Pietermaritzburg	23	6	25	8	4	4	224	60
Durban	0	0	17	10	423	419	445	428
Klip River	91	38	54	21	34	25	33	33
Inanda	4	4	14	6	0	0	303	239
Tugela	191	78	167	59	204	75	1330	100
Umvoti	15	15	0	0	67	67	303	234
Weenen	19	3	0	0	0	0	6	0
Upper Umkomanzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Lower Umkomanzi	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	20
TOTAL	343	144	277	104	732	590	2667	1117

(table con'd)

Source: Select Document 1865 Number 33

Note:

ENT. - Entered.

APP. - Appropriated.

In the years 1863 and 1864, the number of refugees entered and appropriated in the Divisions of Ladysmith and Newcastle, County of Klip River, were respectively:

		1863				1864	
		ENT.	APP.			ENT.	APP.
Ladysmith	....	18	18 100%	....		40	40 100%
Newcastle	....	154	20 13%	....		190	43 18%
Total	....	<u>172</u>	<u>38</u>	....		<u>230</u>	<u>83</u>

Table 24

MAGISTRACIES	1858		1859		1860		1861		1862
	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.	ENT.
Pietermaritzburg	10	0	268	63	14	14	2	2	33
Durban	0	0	4	4	6	6	4	4	0
Klip River	0	0	0	0	202	39	89	89	19
Inanda	20	20	28	28	3	3	2	2	3
Tugela	172	110	98	53	254	132	194	63	264
Umvoti	14	14	33	17	21	12	42	34	52
Weenen	0	0	49	0	24	0	22	7	0
Upper Umkomanzi	5	5	15	15	20	20	29	25	7
Lower Umkomanzi	2	0	3	0	0	0	13	13	5
TOTAL	223	149	498	180	544	226	397	239	383

MAGISTRACIES	1862	1863		1864		% SUCCESS TOTAL			
	APP.	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.	ENT.	APP.	NOT AP	TOTAL
Pietermaritzburg	23	22	13	20	20	645	213	432	33
Durban	0	1	1	0	0	900	872	28	97
Klip River	19	172	38	230	83	924	835	89	90
Inanda	3	2	2	2	2	381	309	72	81
Tugela	19	232	55	333	108	3439	922	2517	27
Umvoti	37	50	33	26	26	623	489	134	78
Weenen	0	2	2	10	6	132	18	114	14
Upper Umkomanzi	5	20	20	0	0	99	93	6	94
Lower Umkomanzi	2	4	2	4	4	51	41	10	80
TOTAL	108	505	166	625	249	7194	3792	3402	53%

and Zulu King Panda. According to this agreement all Zulu refugees who entered Natal were free to decide whether to stay in Natal permanently or return to Zululand; all livestock brought by these refugees would, however, be returned to the Zulu King under this agreement.

When Natal Native labor, procured by the aforementioned strategy, proved inadequate and unreliable, the Natal government was pressured by sugar-planters to find alternative labor sources. A second strategy harnessed to obtain labor commenced in 1860 when indentured Indian laborers were imported in collaboration with the Indian government (Ballard 1989:136)⁴². Commencing in 1868, the Natal L.C. looked beyond the Colony's borders to Mozambique, Swaziland, and as far north as present-day Zambia for "foreign" Native labor in response to coastal planters' persistent demands. Natal settlers were influenced by Act No. 22, 1867 in the Cape Colony which made provision for identification tokens and labor registration for foreign Native laborers (N.G.G. Volume 20(1134), September 1st, 1868. L.C. No. 11:310-312). By 1872 there were approximately 6,000 foreign Native laborers in Natal. (N.G.G. Volume 24(1386) November 19th, 1872. L.C. No. 12:571-572). I have sketched the broad outlines of three British responses to provide settlers with adequate and reliable Native labor. They attest that the settlement system was continually been refashioned. These

⁴² Brain asserts that during the 51-year period ending in 1911, when the Indian Government terminated co-operative indentured Indian immigration to Natal, 152,184 Indian men, women, and children had arrived to complete a five-year period of indenture. Two-thirds of these Indians came from Tamil- and Telugu-speaking southern India while the last third hailed from Hindi-speaking districts in northern India. (Brain, J. 1989. "Natal's Indians, 1860-1910" in *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910 A New History*, edited by Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest pp. 249-274).

responses were inextricably connected with segregation as symbolized through the Native Location, the precursor of Apartheid and the Homeland policy in twentieth-century South Africa. The three aforementioned strategies are discussed within the context of Native Locations in the second part of this chapter.

John Moreland's Influence on Imperial Settlement Ideas

John Moreland who served as Joseph Byrne's surveyor and agent, co-ordinating the settlement of emigrants commencing with their arrival at Port Natal, followed by their journey from the coast to interior Natal, and culminating in the survey and disposal of land allotments to individuals, was instrumental in advocating a modification in British Imperial land policy. Moreland's pragmatic suggestions included increasing the size of individual agricultural landholdings from 20- to 80 acres and of providing agriculturalists with grazing land adjacent to their agricultural landholdings (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:227). Moreland's latter suggestion of mixed subsistence farming reflects compromise between the Colonial Reformers idealistic compact, controlled agricultural settlement model and the Dutch-Afrikaner Volksraad's extensive, laissez-faire open-range livestock herding and rudimentary crop agricultural model. Moreland is therefore a pivotal figure who helped to shape the Natalian settlement system in midland Natal through his experience as a surveyor and his interaction with both Dutch-Afrikaner and British settlers. This interaction with the former in particular enabled Moreland to suggest a compromise between the antecedent Dutch-Afrikaner settlement system and that of the Colonial Reformers that had limited success in Australia.

Because the Natal British colonial government adopted the Dutch-Afrikaner policy of granting title to 6,000 acre farms at an early date there was a subsequent dearth of Crown Land in midland and interior Natal. Moreland had to come to grips with this problem, particularly the dilemma of not having access to large contiguous blocks of suitable Crown land to layout these agricultural villages⁴³. Moreland was supported in his quest to obtain contiguous blocks of agricultural land together with adjacent pasture land by older colonists and recently arrived settlers⁴⁴. The committee disapproved of a proposed government plan for locating agricultural immigrants since although the plan "recognize[d] the principle of giving the agriculturalist an increased extent of arable land of the kind bargained for in London", the committee asserted that giving "...arable allotments without grasslands to feed cows and oxen and for the production of manure, are useless to the farmer and cannot be cultivated to advantage" (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:223). It is instructive to note that this committee was headed by men that represented Dutch-Afrikaner and Anglo segments of Natalian society. It is apparent that the opinion of this committee, representing the views of both long-time residents and recent immigrants to the colony, rejected the Imperial settlement model. To be sure, in the latter part of this correspondence the committee asserted that

⁴³ Moreland to Moodie (Secretary of Government, Natal) requesting that the colonial government make land for immigrants available in adjacent lots. November 3rd, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:209-210); and Moreland to Moodie for further application for permission to purchase lands of the Natal Cotton Company. February 15th, 1850. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:219-221).

⁴⁴ Comments of a Committee of emigrants on the proposed government notice for the settlement of immigrants. February 20th, 1850. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:222-226).

if grazing land is not allocated then the settlement of the agriculturalist [according to the Imperial plan] will be unsuccessful because the agriculturalist will "reject a useless country allotment and, instead of settling down as an active producer, to select a town or village allotment on speculation, as being a readily marketable commodity" (Ibid:224). Moreland proposed a mixed farming settlement model in lieu of the Imperial model (Figure 30). Moreland asserted⁴⁵ that the layout of settlements would proceed as follows. The first priority following the selection of a tract of Crown land would be the selection of a site for the village and a suitable extent of townland would be reserved. Hereafter, the remaining Crown land would be surveyed in blocks that ranged from between 300 to 400 acres. At the government upset price of 4 shillings per acre each adult immigrant would receive 80 acres as stipulated in the government notice. Moreland foresaw a distinction between two classes, namely, the artisan or mechanic residing in towns and villages and the agriculturalist upon his 80-acre arable allotment. The aforementioned distinction would produce a twofold settlement pattern that would be shaped by recently arriving immigrants' choice between the two options. Each option, however, made provision for pasturing livestock. The first option available to settlers was to use their 16 pounū drawback to purchase a one-acre erf in any village or town. They could in addition also pasture their livestock on the townlands. In addition to these one-acre erven, the urban settlement morphology would also be characterized by schools, places of worship, and markets etc (E.C. 1849-1852

⁴⁵ Moreland's reply to the comments of the emigrant committee on the proposed government notice for the settlement of immigrants. February 20th, 1850. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:226-229).

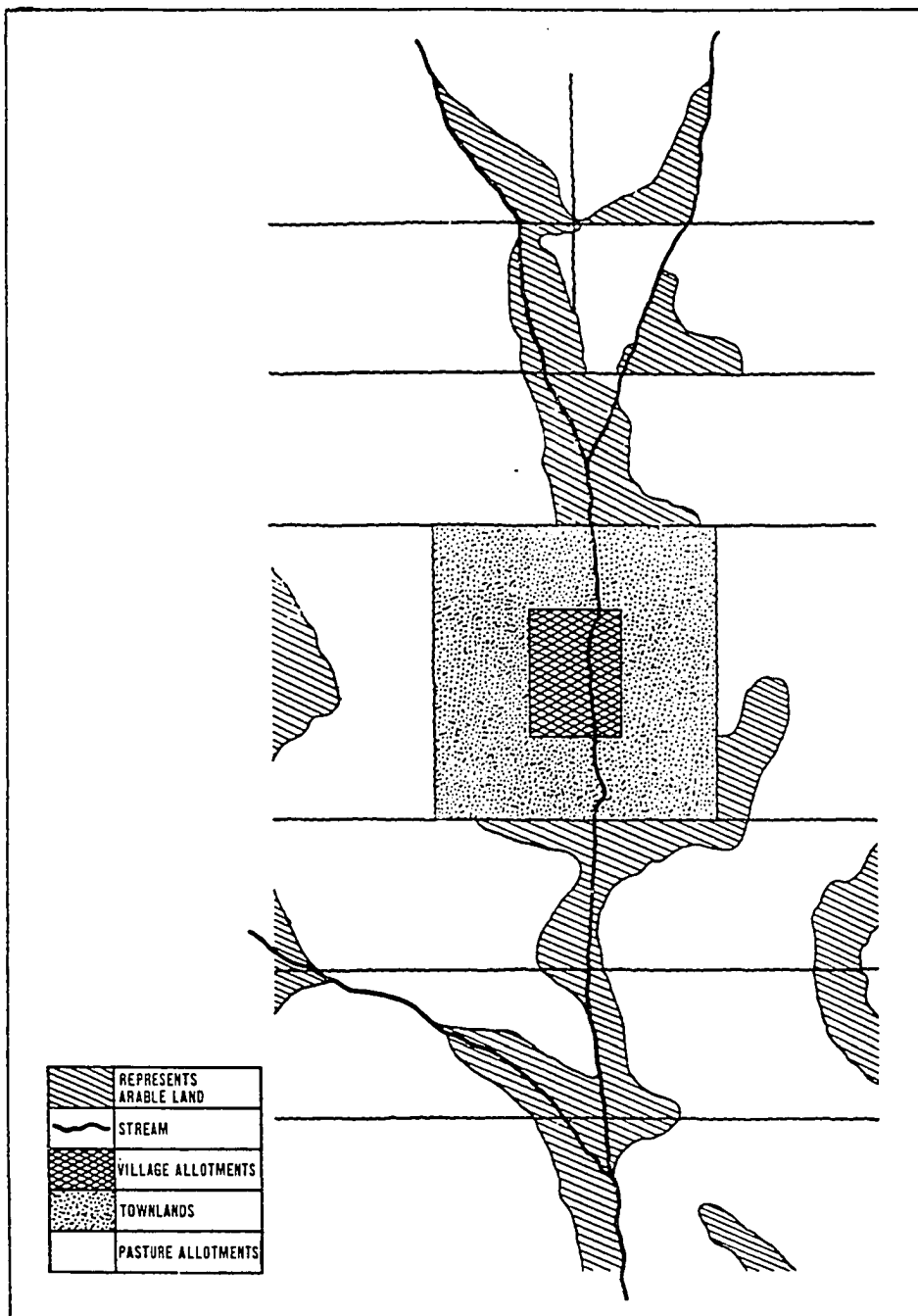


Figure 30 Moreland's Idealized Settlement Plan
Source: Natal Executive Council Volume 3

Volume 3:228). The resulting settlement morphology arising from settlers who preferred the second option would be numerous dispersed 80-acre blocks of arable land interspersed between 300- to 400 acre pasture allotments.

The Native Location: Accommodation of Indigenous Peoples 1843 to 1879

Much has been written about Native Locations in Natal. My objectives in considering the Native Location as part of the Natal settlement system are twofold. In the first instance it is asserted that the Native Location existed more in the mind of Shepstone, the E.C., colonial officials, settlers, and missionaries alike than in reality, that is, on the ground. Coastal planters' voiced emotional complaints of Native labor shortages while missionaries bemoaned the persistence of "heathen" Native institutions including polygamy, lobola, and witchcraft. Planters' and missionaries alike, believed that isolation on Native Locations nurtured these evils-- laziness and tribalism. But in reality, Native Locations existed in the minds of people and on paper more than in the landscape. For a start, neither Natives nor Resident Magistrates had any notion of the location of the boundaries separating Crown and Location land. Furthermore, by 1880 the Natal Native Commission estimated that less than half (169,800 souls) of the estimated 375,000 Natives resident in Natal resided on Locations or other Native Trust Lands. The majority lived on private lands as tenants (162,600 souls) or squatted on Crown Land (42,600 souls) (N.N.C. 1881-82:35).

The second objective emphasized that indigenous people in Natal were active agents in shaping the Natal settlement system through resisting government decrees and Location policy in general. In other writing, Native resistance has received scant

attention. Indigenous Natalians have been depicted as passive agents in the settlement process. The success of Native resistance is evident in: perennial colonial correspondence pertaining to Native labor shortages that resulted in an established model of imported foreign Native labor by the early 1870's, and concerted Native opposition to forced removal to Locations in Klip River County during the first decade or so after the fragmented Location model was promulgated and pursued. The creation of inhumane British institutions including Native labor registration, forcing Natives to carry identification tokens, and restricting the number of Native families that could reside on white farmers' property may be viewed as treating the symptom rather than the cure for an ill that the British deemed Native resistance and perceived insubordination to be. In short, these institutions were a reaction to Native behavior rather than dictatorial British initiatives. In the following section a detailed discussion of the two aforementioned objectives is preceded by a discussion of the Location concept and evolution of Native Location policy.

Evolution of the Large Fragmented Native Location Model

Why did the Natal colonial government establish Native Locations as part of the settlement system; and, furthermore, why was a fragmented Location model pursued? Brookes and Hurwitz (1957:8) suggest that the Native Location was established between 1846 and 1864. Although the end-date should be 1866, when Alfred County was added to the Colony, their assertion is, in the main, accurate. By 1852, six large fragmented Native Locations covered an area of approximately 1.2 million acres. They included the: (1) Zwartkop, (2) Umvoti, (3) Umlazi, (4) Inanda, (5) Impofana, and (6) Tugela.

Although these six Locations (See Figure 31) were recognized by 1852, additional Locations were selected, surveyed, and demarcated after 1856 so that by 1881 there were 42 Locations covering an area of just over two million acres scattered throughout the colony (Table 25). It should be noted that a Natal Native Trust, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Natal Executive Council, was established in 1864 (S.D. 1864 No. 13:4). The Draft Charter of this Trust, which was sent to Lieutenant-Governor Scott by the Secretary of State, empowered the trustees to "...take and hold lands within [Natal], or any interest in such lands, and [to] grant, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of the same lands in such wise as they shall deem fit, for the support, advantage, or well-being of the said Natives, or for the purposes connected therewith" (Ibid:5)⁴⁶.

Although the name of Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs (1846 to 1875), is generally associated with the creation of the Native Locations, the large fragmented Native Location was not the model that he initially envisioned. Following his appointment, Shepstone initially envisioned the creation of a great Bantu (Native) state in southern Natal coupled with numerous small Locations, each serving as an acculturative center for Natives, scattered throughout the Colony (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:3). The principle of large fragmented Native Locations and their vague geographical distribution was the product of two successive (1846 and 1848) Commissions' suggestions. The Location Commission was appointed on March 31st

⁴⁶ Duke of Newcastle to Scott, March 5th, 1864. (S.D. 1864 No. 13:1-5). Correspondence concerns the issue of documentary title to Native Location land.

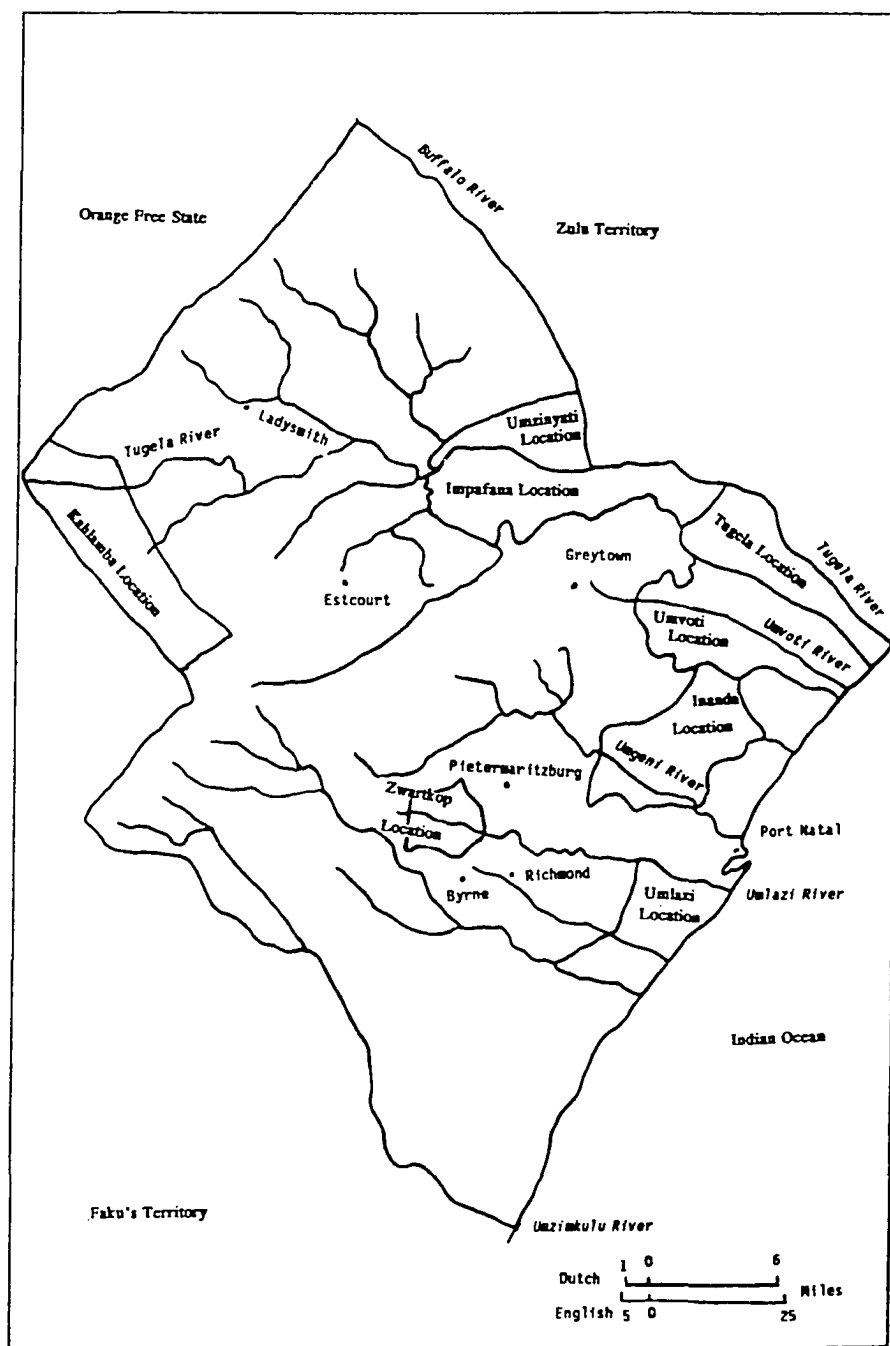


Figure 31 Native Locations Circa 1852
Source: Brookes and Hurwitz 1957

Table 25

Colony of Natal: Native Locations

NAME OF LOCATION	COUNTY OR DIVISION	AREA IN ACRES			TOTAL AREA IN ACRES		
		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
Zwaartkop	Co. Pietermaritzburg, Umgeni Division ...	60,406	1	9			
					60,406	1	9
Umlazi	Umlazi Division ...	132,429	2	21			
	Upper Umkomanzi...	38,000	0	0			
					170,429	2	21
Inanda	Inanda Division ...	88,600	0	0			
	Umgeni Division ...	92,000	0	0			
	Umlazi Division ...	31,000	0	0			
					211,600	0	0
Tugela	Umvoti County ...	182,700	0	0			
					182,700	0	0
Impafana	Estcourt Division ...	90,300	0	0			
	Umsinga Division...	18,000	0	0			
					108,300	0	0
Umvoti	Umvoti County ...	221,000	0	0			
	Lower Tugela Division	192,800	0	0			
					313,800	0	0
Klip River	Umsinga Division ...	265,000	0	0			
					265,000	0	0
Upper Umkomanzi	No.1 Division ...	48,400	0	0			
	No.2 Division ...	52,300	0	0			
	No.3 Division ...	7,600	0	0			
	No.4 Division ...	8,000	0	0			
	No.5 Division ...	16,000	0	0			
	No.6 Division ...	7,800	0	0			
	No.7 Division ...	19,000	0	0			
	No.8 Division ...	35,500	0	0			
					194,600	0	0
Alexandra	No.1 Division ...	20,970	0	0			
	No.2 Division ...	27,040	0	0			
	No.3 Division ...	12,680	0	0			
	No.4 Division ...	24,800	0	0			
	No.5 Division ...	8,200	0	0			
	No.6 Division ...	55,000	0	0			
					148,690	0	0
		Carried Forward			1,655,525	3	30

(table con'd)

Source: Natal Native Commission 1880

Note: Area in Acres, Roods and Perches

Table 25

NAME OF LOCATION	COUNTY OR DIVISION	AREA IN ACRES			TOTAL AREA IN ACRES		
		A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.
		Brought forward			1,655,525	3	30
Alfred	No.1 Division ...	32,000	0	0			
	No.2 Division ...	35,000	0	0			
	No.3 Division ...	35,000	0	0			
	No.4 Division ...	35,000	0	0			
	No.5 Division ...	16,000	0	0			
	No.6 Division ...	14,000	0	0			
	No.7 Division ...	16	0	0			
	No.8 Division ...	760	0	0			
	No.9 Division ...	290	0	0			
	No.10 Division ...	189	0	0			
					168,255	0	0
Drakenberg 1	Estcourt, No.1 ...	8,400	0	0			
	Ulundi, No.2 ...	47,600	0	0			
					56,000	0	0
Drakenberg 2	Ulundi ...	40,500	0	0			
					40,500	0	0
Impendhla	Umgeni Division ...	26,600	0	0			
					26,600	0	0
Zikale, otherwise U. Tugela	Weenen County ...	104,000	0	0			
					104,000	0	0
					2,050,880	3	30
Umnini Reserve	... ..	7,977	0	0			
Putili Trust	... ..	8,200	0	0			
					16,177	0	0
					2,067,057	3	30

1846 and the Land Commission on February 10th 1848 (N.G.G. Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:411-412 and E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:214). Although Shepstone opposed this Native Location model that materialized in Natal (attributable in large measure to a frugal Empire that advocated colonial self-sufficiency when it came to the treasury), he worked diligently often in the face of formidable opposition from all quarters (including the Natal L.C., up-country settlers, and missionaries), to ensure its survival. Before chronicling Shepstone's dominance in shaping the administrative machinery for these Locations, the role of the aforementioned Commissions in creating this large fragmented Location model is discussed, taking cognizance of Dutch-Afrikaner precedents.

The Commissions were familiar with the Dutch-Afrikaner Volksraad's proposal of establishing two Native Locations outside of Natal, one on the southern and another on the northern periphery, through Henry Cloete's 1843 status report on settlement in Natal (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:77-81). The former, located between the Umtamvuna and Umzimvubu Rivers, influenced British officials thinking more than the latter which would have been located between the Tugela and Buffalo (Umzinyati) Rivers (N.N.C.; Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:1). Shepstone's initial plan for a great Bantu state in southern Natal was probably influenced by the Volksraad's earlier proposal (Hamilton 1928:37). In 1848, the Land Commission twice suggested removal of the majority of Natives west of the Umzimkulu River and again in 1849 the Cape and Natal Governments inquired concerning the possibility of settling Zulu's between the Umzimvubu and Umzimkulu Rivers (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:258-259 and 332-333;

E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:77-78). Although Cloete reported the Volksraad's intention, he advised the Cape Colony Governor to reject sanctioning the adoption of that policy for four reasons. First, removal would cause misery to between 40,000 and 50,000 Natives; second, these tracts were too small to accommodate all the Natives; third, it would lead to labor shortages within the Colony; and fourth, it would strengthen tribalism and nullify missionary and Government "civilizing" endeavors.

Cloete was the first British official to recommend the establishment of large fragmented Locations. He suggested four Locations to accommodate the estimated 80,000 to 100,000 Zulu refugees resident in Natal by 1843 (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:77-81). The idea of establishing large Native Locations was subsequently adopted by the 1846 Location Commission and the 1848 Land Commission⁴⁷. The 25 member 1852-53 Native Commission, consisting of long-time settlers and elected officials, was critical of the large Native Locations that were proposed by the 1846 and 1848 Commissions (N.N.C. 1852-53:1) and 17-19). The 1846 Commission consisted of five members, namely, Theophilus Shepstone, William Stanger (Surveyor-General), C.J. Gibb (Engineer), and two American missionaries, Newton Adams and Daniel Lindley (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:73-77; Brookes and Hurwitz 1967:2). This Commission's successor also consisted of five members; three officials and two settlers: Lieutenant-Colonel Boys, Donald Moodie (Colonial Secretary), Captain Ryle (Secretary), J.N. Boshoff, and P.H. Zietsman (Brookes and Hurwitz 1967:5). In response to the large Locations espoused by their predecessors, the 1852-53 Commission simply noted that,

⁴⁷ Their proposals are discussed in detail later.

"... [we] are not aware of any advantages derivable from the Kafir Locations, as at present defined, which are not much more than counterbalanced by the great evils essentially inherent in them" (N.N.C. 1852-53:33). The soliloquy of evils identified by the Commissioners ranged from a threat to white-settler security to the retardation of Native civilization (Ibid:17-19). The former was a reality because the "rugged and impervious character of these Locations" coupled with their non-contiguous nature could facilitate Native attacks and plunder from numerous directions (Ibid:17). Native civilization would be hindered and slowed because isolation from colonial society on remote Locations would encourage and enable Natives "...to lead a life, essentially idle, wandering and pastoral, instead of settling down to fixed industrial pursuits" (Ibid:18).

After their establishment⁴⁸ the persistence of large fragmented Native Locations was not certain. Instead their persistence was characterized by a tug-of-war between the E.C., with Shepstone, often single handedly, at the forefront of the pro-Location contingent, and the L.C., up-country settlers, and missionaries challenging the status quo for different, yet self-serving, reasons. Theophilus Shepstone⁴⁹ deserves credit for the hierarchical administrative system that he devised for governing Natives residing on the Locations (Figure 32) and for staying the course when belligerently challenged (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:326-329). Furthermore, he asserted that the administration of

⁴⁸ Theophilus Shepstone's suggestions for governing the Natives in Natal. April 26th, 1846. As mentioned previously, in his capacity as Secretary for Native Affairs, Shepstone fought to protect Native land from alienation to white settlers.

⁴⁹ Shepstone's opinion on the British Governments proposal to make Natives in Natal subject to Native, rather than European law, August 14th, 1848; and Shepstone's memorandum on proposed Native tax, June 18th, 1849.

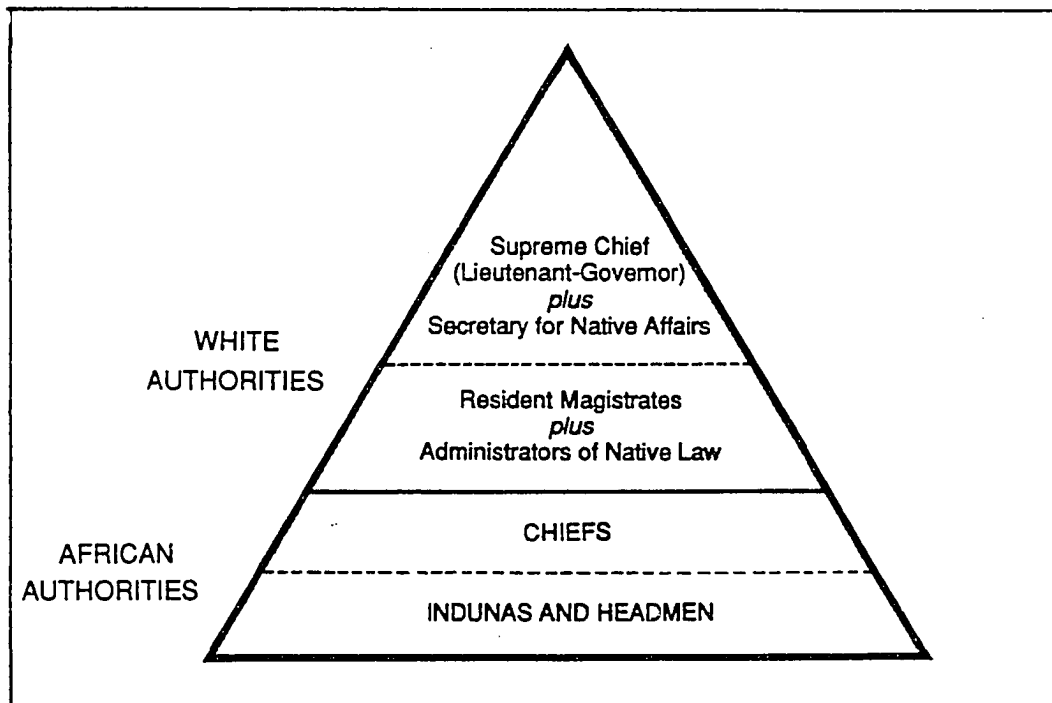


Figure 32 Hierarchical Administrative Structure for Governing Natives

Source: Duminy and Guest 1989

Native Law (Ibid:323-325) and a hut tax of five pound per hut per annum (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:153-155) were essential to the functioning of his administrative system.

But why did Shepstone champion Native Locations? His motivations were pragmatic, humane, and, to a lesser extent, self-centered. Given the limited financial resources at his disposal, Shepstone deemed a hierarchical administrative system most efficient to peacefully govern the Natives through levying a hut tax (commenced in 1850) on all Native kraals. Shepstone's suggestion was later supported by the Secretary of State, Earl Grey, and Governor Harry Smith of the Cape who cited the success of taxation in financing Locations for the Maoris in Waikato, New Zealand and the Fingoes in the eastern Cape Colony, respectively (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:81-82 and 83-87). The revenue derived from hut taxes, later supplemented by dog, marriage, and excise taxes, financed Location administration and boosted the Colony's ailing coffers. Additional revenue was derived when Natives appealed decisions of chiefs or headman since white salaried Resident Magistrates and Administrators of Native Law levied fees to hear such cases Etherington 1989:173)(Figure 32).

The objective of Shepstone's pragmatism was twofold. First, it was financially expedient. Secondly, the great Native population could be peacefully controlled since the pre-colonial African institutions maintained at the bottom of the administrative pyramid ensured Native co-operation. The "Shepstone system"⁵⁰ v. as a blend of British and African institutions that co-existed in the administration of Native Locations. The

⁵⁰ "The 'Shepstone system' in the Colony of Natal and beyond the border" by N. Etherington, In *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910: A New History*. Edited by Duminy and Guest 1989:170-192.

administration of Native Law at each of these levels (Figure 32) illustrates this often unintelligible blend. The basis of Native Law was the customary practices of Natal's indigenous population. But since these Laws were not systematically recorded, their interpretation and administration, at and within each of these levels, was inconsistent in practice. This resulted in dissatisfaction and bewilderment as expressed by a Native at a meeting in 1863 when:

He said he did not know how many laws there were in Natal. English, Kafir, and Roman Dutch he had heard of. There was also a mixture of all; by all of which the natives got the worst of it. He said they wanted a written law - not one in which the brains was [sic] the only book to which reference was to be made (Natal Witness, 27 March 1863 cited in Duminy and Guest 1989:173).

Shepstone's humane, albeit paradoxical, motivation for the maintenance of Native Locations was to protect the Natives meager two million acres (less than 20% of the Colony's area) from the covetous eyes of white settlers and the elected L.C. The persistent demands to dissolve⁵¹ the Native Locations reached a climax in 1864 when the London Colonial Office sanctioned, upon the recommendation of the Natal Executive Council, the establishment of the Natal Native Trust (S.D. 1864 No. 13:5). Although under the Trust's provisions the Lieutenant-Governor and the E.C. determined when and where Native land would be allocated or retracted, it protected Native land from the L.C.'s demands to make it available for European settlers⁵². Once

⁵¹ Report of two L.C. Select Committees rejecting the Lieutenant-Governor's proposal of granting documentary tribal title to Native land (N.G.G. Volume 13(666) July 30th, 1861:265; and Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:409-412).

⁵² 82 inhabitants of Umvoti County petition Lieutenant-Governor Pine to confiscate "...the lands lately known as Langalibalele's location, and [appropriate] them to the
(continued...)

established, the Trust protected Native Land from proponents of dispossession as late as the late 1870's (N.G.G. Volume 25(1444) December 2nd, 1873:468; and Volume 26(1491) September 22nd, 1874 L.C. No. 6:528-529).

Shepstone's selfish motivation in championing his system of Native administration for nearly thirty years was rooted in his belief "...that his Nguni name Somtseu⁵³ inspired awe and respect [among Natives] everywhere [throughout the British colonies and Voortrekker Republics in South Africa]" (Etherington 1989:170). Shepstone prided himself on the praises of those who claimed that the success of the Shepstone system was attributable to his understanding of the Native mind. Notwithstanding that Shepstone, the son of a Wesleyan missionary in the Cape Colony, was born and raised among the Xhosa and Fingoes in the eastern Cape during the first half of the nineteenth century, he was not held in awe and respected by all South African Natives from the beginning. In 1844, he told Bishop Colenso that he was transferred from the Cape to Natal in 1846 because his life was threatened by Fingoe chiefs dissatisfied with his administration (Colenso 1855:145-147). Nevertheless, his experience (and obvious learning) as clerk, translator, and administrator among the Xhosa and Fingoes served him well in Natal. His fluency in Xhosa, making mastery of the cognate Zulu tongue

⁵²(...continued)

white population"; and Immigration Commission Report 1874, Geo. MacLeroy suggests acquiring, by purchase or equitable exchange, the Umlazi and Zwartkop Locations.

⁵³ Pettman (1913:460) claims that Somtseu is a Sechuana word meaning a mighty hunter. He notes that this name was first given to one Gordon Cumming by the Natives. It was later applied to Shepstone by the Natal Natives. The high regard accorded adept Native hunters was bestowed upon Shepstone in a different context by Natal Natives, namely, their mighty chief.

less difficult, coupled with his intimate knowledge of Native history and traditions assured a cordial understanding between him and most of the Natives in Natal (Hattersley 1950). On the eve of his retirement, Shepstone complacently believed that his system of governing the Natal Natives through a combination of hut taxes and the maintenance of pre-colonial African institutions for their local government was a model that could be applied to the continent (N.G.G. Volume 21(1187) August 10th, 1869 L.C. No. 6:325-327 and Etherington 1989:177-178)⁵⁴. Although Shepstone devised, implemented, and defended a hierarchical Native Location administrative system, confining Natives to reside upon Locations proved more difficult and less successful than what he believed⁵⁵.

Although Shepstone and the E.C. had decided by 1850 that Natal should pursue a large fragmented Native Location model, not all agreed. Disagreement was voiced as to the permanence of this policy by Lieutenant-Governor Pine, London Colonial Officials, missionaries, later by the L.C., and by up-country Natal settlers. Lieutenant-Governor Benjamin Pine was the most critical and vocal opponent of isolating Natives on large fragmented Locations⁵⁶. Pine's objection to the Native Locations is best

⁵⁴ Shepstone's report on the progress made by Natal Natives under his administrative system over the past approximately 25 years.

⁵⁵ See later discussion detailing Native resistance.

⁵⁶ Pine served as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal at four different times, namely, 1850 to 1852; 1853 to 1855; 1873; and again in 1874. Pine's widespread criticism of large Native Locations was reported by the 1852-53 Native Commission (reported in the N.G.G. Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:410 and 412) and by the a Select Committee of the L.C. in 1861 (N.G.G. Volume 13(666) July 30th, 1861:265). When Lieutenant-Governor in 1873, Pine once again voiced vociferous opposition to keeping
(continued...)

summed up in a statement during his first term, there are, he said: "...so many Kaffirlands in the midst of a Colony which has been held up as a field of Emigration for Her Majesty's British subjects" (Cited in Brookes and Webb 1967:68). Pine, unlike Natal's first Lieutenant-Governor, Martin West (1845-1849), and Shepstone, realized that this Native policy would discourage British immigrants because so much Crown land had been granted first to Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists (some 3.4 million acres) and now to the Natives (some 2 million acres). This comprised nearly half of the Colony's approximately 11 million acres.

Pine was of opinion that Natives should purchase and hold land, as did Europeans, on the basis of individual freehold tenure. He cited the "advance of civilization" among Sierra Leone's indigenous Natives when he introduced the concept of individual landownership to them (N.G.G. Volume 13(666) July 30th, 1861:265). Later in 1862, to justify their advocacy for individual rather than tribal Native landownership in Natal, a L.C. Select Committee cited the example of the Wyandot Indians in the United States. In 1857, the U.S. Government had granted individual Wyandot Indians, residing at the junction of the Missouri and Kansas rivers, 40 acres each. Furthermore, the L.C. S.C. petitioned the E.C. to heed Commissioner Darver's two criticisms of U.S. Indian policy, namely, assigning individual tribes large tracts of land (ie., reservations) and payment to Indians of large money annuities for land ceded, when framing policy for Natal's Natives (N.G.G. Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:411).

⁵⁶(...continued)

Natives isolated on Locations (N.G.G. Volume 24(1444) December 2nd, 1873:467).

Pine's opposition to the isolation of Natives on Locations was supported by Earl Grey as early as 1852 when he noted that Shepstone's system was "practicable" when adopted but that it "...ought always to have been considered as merely provisional, and requiring to be gradually superseded by a better as soon as possible" (cited in N.G.G. Volume 13(666) July 30th, 1861:265). Subsequent appointed Imperial Government Officials supported Grey's sentiment, namely, Commissioner Owen (March 6th, 1854); Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony (December 3rd, 1855); Lieutenant-Governor Scott (October 29th, 1860); the Emigration Commissioners in London (November 24th, 1860); and Secretary of State, Edward Cardwell (January 1st, 1861) (N.G.G. Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:412).

Natal's missionaries also lent support to abolishing the Native Locations. Reverend William Holden offered alternative methods of governing the Natives in a lengthy pamphlet published in the early 1850's (Holden 1963:177-190). Although Holden echoed Pine's view of promoting freehold tenure among the Natives the content of his pamphlet was eurocentric and had racist overtones. Holden, along with other missionaries, was particularly concerned with the Natives apathetic attitude toward work and the persistence of tribalism (including polygamy, lobola, and witchcraft), permitted by their isolation in the Locations. Holden was of opinion that "the Kafirs are British subjects, under British law, and subject to British institutions" (Ibid). On this score, the missionaries were at odds with Shepstone's advocacy of customary law including turning a blind-eye to these African institutions.

Natal's settlers were divided in their assessment of the Native Locations. Etherington notes that "up-country" settlers from the farms and villages of inland Natal were opposed to Native Locations while coastal sugar-planters supported Shepstone's endeavors. The former argued that raising hut taxes and reducing the size of the locations would force "lazy" Africans to labor for them. Since the planters⁵⁷ needed reliable, rather than cheap labor, they concurred with Shepstone that reliable labor would be forthcoming from stable Native families resident on Locations (Etherington 1989:175-176). After 1864, however, the voices of the "up-country" residents were louder than those of coastal planters. The indifference of the planters after this date may be attributable to their lobbying for the importation of foreign Native labor from whom they could be guaranteed contracts of twelve months and longer (S.D. 1869 No 20:1-2). Despite this strong opposition to Native Locations and the persistence of tribalism facilitated by the administration of Native Law, in particular, and Shepstone's administrative system, in general, the Natal Native Trust established in 1864 sealed the fate of the strong anti-location contingent. Although the Trust earmarked and protected about two million acres for the Natives confining them to these lands proved more difficult than framing legislation. I now discuss the colonial Government's failure to implement these large fragmented Native Locations in practice.

Demarcation of Native Locations

From their inception, the physical demarcation and theoretical delimitation of Native Locations on maps were either imprecise, subject to change, or simply omitted. This

⁵⁷ Memorial of coastal planters on supply of reliable labor. March 12th, 1869.

is manifest through reports by the Location Commission (1846), the Land Commission (1848), and the Native Commission (1852-53) whose principles formed the basis for Native policy that had crystallized by 1864 when 2,206,066 acres had been allocated to Native Locations (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:6). The number of individual Locations was unknown at this date. However, by 1881 the Natal Native Commission reported that 169,800 Natives resided on forty-one separate Locations comprising an area of 2,050,880 acres (N.N.C. 1881-82:34-35) (Table 25). These individual Locations varied in extent, ranging from between 265,000 acres in the Klip River Location situated in Umsinga Division and 16 acres comprising Alfred Location Number 7 (Ibid:47-48).

In their 1847 report, the Location Commission simply suggested earmarking approximately two million acres for Native Locations with no reference to their number, size, and position (N.G.G. Volume 14(720), August 19th, 1862:412). The first mention of the number and size of individual locations was in a later paper written by Lieutenant Gibb where it appears that this Commission anticipated assigning the Natives about ten fragmented Locations of about 340 square miles each to accommodate approximately 10,000 people each (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:2). The official Commission report, however, only contained vague references to the geographical localities of three Locations, centered on the Mission Stations of three American missionaries, namely Adams, Lindley, and Grout (Ibid:3). During the short life of the Location Commission modest progress was made on the delimitation and demarcation fronts. The Zwart Kop Location, just west of Pietermaritzburg, was demarcated in

November 1846 and Lieutenant-Governor West provisionally gazetted three additional Locations, namely, the Umlazi, Umvoti, and Inanda in March 1847 (Ibid:4).

The 1848 Land Commission improved on their predecessors report by recommending that six locations of approximately 50,000 acres each be established between the Tugela and Umzimkulu Rivers (E.C. 1846-48 Volume 2:330 and N.G.G. Volume 14(720), August 19th, 1862:412). Details regarding their extent and geographical positioning within the Colony were still, however, imprecise. In August 1848 the Commissioners suggested sites for six Locations⁵⁸ and noted that the extent of these Locations be determined by their localities, but that they should be limited to 50,000 acres each. Evidence of the Board's vague conception of where these six permanent Native Locations would be located is discernable in their rudimentary descriptions:

- (1) At the junction of the Umzinyati and Tugela [rivers], extent to be determined by a commission of inspection according to localities.
- (2) At the junction of the Mooi River and Tugela, extent to be determined as in foregoing.
- (3) In the Inanda.
- (4) Round the Revd. Mr Grout's station [Mission] at the Umvoti.
- (5) Round Dr. Adams' station at the Umlazi.
- (6) At the Zwartkop, near Pieter Maritz Burg, to the extent necessary for the aboriginal tribe of Mapengan, not exceeding 20,000 acres, unless it may hereafter be found

⁵⁸ H.D. Kyle (Secretary of Land Commission) to Lieutenant-Governor recommending sites for six Native Locations. August 16th, 1848. (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:330).

practicable to place that tribe to their satisfaction elsewhere, in which case the Commission would recommend their removal (Ibid).

With such vague boundary descriptions, it is little wonder that less than a year later the Location boundary inspection officers requested more details for the proposed northern boundaries of the Inanda and Umvoti Locations (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:158). Although this newly constituted Commission was strongly critical of its predecessor, they agreed that the Zwart Kop, Umlazi, Inanda, and Umvoti Locations be maintained, but that their extent be reduced (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:5). As noted before, of these four Locations, only the Zwart Kop Location was demarcated, albeit crudely, while the other three had simply been gazetted by West. Upon the recommendation of this Commission an additional three Locations were gazetted by April 1849 bringing the total number of Locations to seven:

1. Zwartkops.
2. On the Umvoti River.
3. On the Umlazi River.
4. In the Inanda.
5. At the junction of the Umzinyati or Buffalo River with the Tugela.
6. At the junction of the Mooi River with the Tugela.
7. On the Tugela including the Natives under Chiefs Magadan and Somshasha, including also the abandoned farm of Jacobus Potgieter (Ibid).

Judging by the rudimentary descriptions of these gazetted Locations it was obvious that West and the Commissioners had only a very vague image as to where these Locations were, or should be situated, and as to their area.

The Natal Native Commission of 1852-53 came closest to defining the positions of their recommended seven to eight locations of 24,000 to 26,000 acres each when they proclaimed that "....these Locations should consist of good average open land, that no

difficult broken country should be included in them, and that each Location should be widely separated from the others..." (N.G.G. Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:412). However, the Commission only confirmed the existence of seven Locations, all of which are depicted on Surveyor-General Stanger's 1850 map (Figure 14). The confusion in official circles as to where these Locations were situated is obvious from Stanger's map (Figure 14) in which it appears that Native Location boundary lines had been sketched in after farms alienated to white farmers were determined. In a few cases, there are also registered white settler farms lying within the Kahlamba and Umvoti Locations. Furthermore, there was no agreement between Stanger and the Commissioners as to Location names. For the researcher with hindsight and the rich archival record, it is obvious how the seven Locations gazetted by April 1849 corresponded with those in Stanger's 1850 map. But it was awfully confusing to settlers, Natives, missionaries, and Government officials' to know where the Kahlamba or Umzinyati Locations were when the Commissioners left them unnamed, arbitrarily delineated, and poorly demarcated.

Thus far I have presented the dilemma faced by Natal's inhabitants because of the inability of Commissioners to delineate Native Locations. This inability to quickly delineate Locations was compounded by the Natal Government's tardiness to determine their cumulative and individual extent through survey and to clearly mark their boundaries with beacons in the cultural landscape. In 1852, we find the first reference to the extent of the Native Locations when Stanger reported that approximately 1,254,440 acres had been allocated to six locations. These six Locations included the:

(1) Zwartkop, (2) Umvoti, (3) Umlazi, (4) Inanda, (5) Impofana, and (6) Tugela. An additional two locations, the Umzinyati and Kahlamba, brought the total area allocated to Native Locations to approximately two million acres (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:6). There was, however, no reference to their individual sizes. Since Stanger's map two years previous to this report, a new Location, the Tugela Location, was added bringing the total number of Locations to eight. Mann's 1859 *Map of the Colony of Natal* (Figure 31) shows the approximate geographical distribution of these eight Locations. Notwithstanding that eight Native Locations were identified circa 1852, their cumulative acreages were approximate and they were imprecisely demarcated.

The Surveyor-General's office continued to publish contradictory reports concerning the number of individual Locations and estimates of their cumulative extent (S.D. 1861 No. 38:1). In his 1861 report, Surveyor-General Sutherland, who had succeeded the deceased Stanger, claimed that there was a total of 1,342,600 acres (compared to Stangers two million acres in 1852) in Native Locations. Although this total did not square with his predecessors estimate of two million acres, it is impossible to determine which of the eight Locations Sutherland excluded since he simply listed the acreages in Locations by county, not individual Locations (Table 26). Hence, to the Commissioners, officials and settlers in Natal these Native Locations were theoretical mental constructs while to officials in Cape Town and London they remained vague tracts of land only familiar to them through ink on paper in correspondence. Similarly, Natives and settlers resident in the Colony remained in the dark concerning the boundaries of these Locations.

Table 26

Area in Location and Crown Land

COUNTY	LOCATION LANDS	CROWN LANDS AVAILABLE FOR SALE, OR GRANT. ACRES	TOTAL LANDS UN- ALIENATED. ACRES
Pietermaritzburg	176,640	2,058,240	2,234,880
Durban	163,960	807,680	971,640
Victoria	280,560	38,080	318,640
Umvoti	235,520	30,000	265,520
Weenen	235,920	209,360	445,280
Klip River	250,000	479,280	729,280
TOTAL	1,342,600	3,622,640	4,965,240

Source: Select Document 1861 Number 38

In 1864 we find the first reference to the extent of individual Native Locations when Lieutenant-Governor Scott granted seven Locations (Table 27) to the Natal Native Trust, totalling 1,312,235 acres 3 roods and 30 perches (N.G.G. Volume 22(1239), July 12th, 1870. L.C. No. 4:232). This total approximate acreage was confirmed by Murdoch who in 1866 asserted that about one-and-a-quarter million acres of the estimated 11.5 million acres in the Colony were allocated to Native Locations (N.G.G. Volume 18(1036), November 27th, 1866. L.C. No. 1:522)⁵⁹. But in 1867 the Surveyor-General reported, in contrast to John Scott's 1864 claim of seven, that only six, Native Locations had been transferred to the Native Trust. The Surveyor-General only differed from Scott with regard to the Umlazi Location (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:9). The specific acreages allocated and transferred to the Trust (according to Scott in 1864) for each of these seven Locations remained the same since these individual totals were confirmed by the 1881-82 Native Commission (Table 25). The Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Carnarvon's, insistence, as late as December 1874, that "it is ...necessary that any other lands which have been set apart for Natives in the Colony of Natal and have not yet been conveyed to th[e] Trust should be conveyed in like manner as soon as possible" (cited in Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:10) reflects administrative tardiness that resulted in Native and settler confusion as to which land could be occupied legally.

Between 1856 and 1866 the Government allocated an additional 700 000 acres for Locations. Between 1864 and 1866, the Government, under Lieutenant- Governor John

⁵⁹ Murdoch (Chairman of Her Majesty's Emigration Board) to Elliot (another member of the Board) (July 12th, 1866).

Table 27**Natal Native Trust 1864**

COUNTY/DIVISION	ACRES	ROODS	PERCHES
Umvoti	313,800	0	0
Klip River	265,000	0	0
Inanda	211,600	0	0
Tugela	182,700	0	0
Umlazi	170,429	2	21
Zwaartkop	60,406	1	9
Impafana	108,300	0	0
TOTAL	1,312,235	3	30

Source: Government Gazette Volume 22 (1239) July 12, 1870: 232

Scott, commenced demarcation of the Upper Umkomanzi Locations (Table 25). After 1866, when Alfred County was annexed to Natal, more land comprising this 700 000 acres was allocated (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:6). This acreage (700,000) when added to the 1,312,235 million acres transferred to the trust in 1864 brought the total area allocated to Native Locations to 2,050,880 million acres by 1881. Although this land had been allocated by 1866, selection, survey, and transfer of such land to the Native Trust progressed much slower. Progress in southern Natal was especially slow. The selection of additional location land can, at best, be described as a *laissez-faire*, idiosyncratic process. In 1858 Resident Magistrate Fynn was instructed to "...inform [himself] as to the most suitable localities for Native reserves in the yet unsurveyed portions of [his] Division [Lower Umkomanzi]..." while travelling from one Native kraal to another collecting the annual Native hut tax (N.G.G. Volume 22(1239), July 12th, 1870. L.C. No. 4:232). It appeared that the slipshod nature of the past twenty years in allocating and delimiting Native Locations would be duplicated in Alfred County after 1866, when in reference to Native Locations in Alfred County Lieutenant-Governor Keate asserted that:

The colonists have been assigned the richer and more cultivable portions, and much of which still remains uncultivated and unoccupied; to the natives the more broken tracts, which are fully occupied. This principle of division will be adhered to when "a reasonable extent of land is transferred to the Natal Native Trust for the benefit of the natives in the County of Alfred" (N.G.G. Volume 22(1239), July 12th, 1870. L.C. No. 4:233)

An example from the Lower Umkomanzi division illustrates the slow progress in the survey of Locations. Although instructions for the survey and demarcation of Native Locations in the Lower Umkomanzi division were given in 1858, the actual surveys

were time-consuming (S.D. 1859 No. 8:1-6)⁶⁰. So much so that by 1864 Lieutenant-Governor Scott reported that the title deeds for Native Locations in the Upper and Lower Umkomanzi divisions had still not been transferred to the Native Trust because the surveys were still incomplete (N.G.G. Volume 22(1239), July 12th, 1870. L.C. No. 4:232). The lengthy delays and poor physical demarcation of the locations made it difficult for Natives to distinguish between location and Crown Land (S.D. 1859 No.:5). Delays in the survey and demarcation of Native Locations, resulting in imprecise boundaries and acreages, occurred throughout the Colony (S.D. 1862 No. 32:1). G.A. Lucas, Resident Magistrate of Klip River, reported that the single Native Location in his county was approximately 75,000 acres in extent and that it was "situated north and north-east of Job's Kop in the angle formed by the junction of the Buffalo and Tugela Rivers" (Ibid). While Resident Magistrate J. MacFarlanes estimate of the extent of the three locations in Weenen County and their boundaries was even more vague (Ibid).

Because of the unclear and imprecise Native Location boundaries, it appeared ludicrous that the Natal Farmers' Club should petition the L.C. to ensure that Natives resident on unoccupied Crown Lands be moved to within the boundaries of the Locations (N.G.G. Volume 20(1134), September 1st, 1868. L.C. No. 11:522). Although by the end-date of this study most of the 2,067,057 acres in Native Locations

⁶⁰ Shepstone to Robert Anderson, Government Surveyor (April 19th, 1858) and Shepstone to Henry Francis Fynn, Resident Magistrate of Lower Umkomanzi (April 20th, 1858). Henry Francis Fynn to Shepstone (March 11th, 1859) and Shepstones response (March 29th, 1859) to his questions concerning the survey of locations.

had been transferred to the Native Trust, the Location boundaries separating white and Native Natalians generally remained unclear. This created Native confusion, suspicion, and animosity. The existence of the Native Location, more on paper than in reality, is echoed by the 1881-82 Native Commission Report:

We [Commissioners] are informed that until very recently the beacons and boundaries of these locations had not been defined or pointed out to the Natives, and that even now the boundaries of one or more of them are still unsettled. The effect of this on the Native has been to cause him to settle down on what he had supposed was Location land; that in certain cases, from time to time, slices and plots of these lands have been sold by Government to white people; the Native occupier has been turned off, and he has left with the firm impression in his mind that he had been ejected from Government lands which had been set apart for his use, and a great grievance has thus been created (N.N.C. 1881-82:8).

Native Resistance

Resistance to Labor

The attempt at restricting Natives to particular geographical localities was ingrained in the Native Location policy; regulating Native labor by controlling the movement of Natives between these locations and "white" Natal was, however, facilitated through labor registration and pass-laws. I have previously mentioned Cloete's 1843 reference to a "plate or medal" that each male adult Native would be required to carry. Cloete's suggestion, in general, and this form of social engineering, in particular, was sanctioned by Downing Street the following year⁶¹. The information on the plate or medal referred to by Cloete indicated the Natives place of residence (ie. which Location) and a general description of the Native. This information facilitated identification and

⁶¹ An extract of a despatch from the Secretary of State to Cape Colony Governor commenting on Cloete's suggestions. July 13th, 1844. (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:82).

forced removal of any Natives that colonial officials or settlers suspected of illegally loitering outside of the locations while not contracted to labor for white farmers. Settlers and officials were empowered to apprehend suspicious looking Natives at any time, request to see their identification tags, and if necessary transport them to the county or division gaol located at the administrative center manned by a Resident Magistrate. Shepstone, continuing with registration, suggested in 1846⁶² that the superintendents of each location take a census and contract Natives to work for colonists to foster agricultural or any other industrious habits (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:329). Although settlers and colonial officials alike saw the need to provide white settlers with cheap, reliable Native labor, especially in coastal Natal, they often differed as to how this should be accomplished. For example, Mr Boshoff, a member of the 1848 Land Commission, was opposed to the creation of Native Locations within Natal to provide labor for the colonists because in his opinion such isolation on the locations would make the Natives independent and therefore they would only be induced to work with difficulty⁶³. Another example illustrating this diversity of opinion showed that farmers⁶⁴ in Klip River county believed that if Natives were forced to reside in the prescribed Locations they would be, though unreliable, more forthcoming laborers

⁶² Shepstones suggestions for governing the Natives in Natal. April 26th, 1846. (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:326-329).

⁶³ Extract from a Minute of the Land Commission recommending that the Government establish Native Locations in the unoccupied area between the Umzimkulu and Umzimvubu rivers. April 19th, 1848. (E.C. 1846-1848 Volume 2:258-259).

⁶⁴ J. Boshof, Inspecting Officer at Mooi River and Umvoti reports farmer dissatisfaction at the Governments failure to move the Natives to Locations. June 6th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:94-95).

because they would from time to time request individual farmers permission to settle on their farms in return for their labor.

Natal's Native labor registration and pass-laws were influenced by those in operation in the eastern Cape Colony. In his correspondence⁶⁵ with the Natal Colonial Office in March 1849 Sir Harry Smith included regulations⁶⁶, framed by the Cape Colony legislature and sanctioned by the Secretary of State Earl Grey, for the administration of the new Fingo Locations in the district of Victoria for the guidance of Natal officials in administering their locations and regulating Native labor. Passes were identified as a key tool in regulating the movement of Fingos between their homes in the Locations and the eastern division of the Cape Colony (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:86).

In Natal, when squatting on Crown Land continued throughout the 1850's despite the Government's numerous warnings and threats, it was decided to levy a fine of 1 pound against Natives without a license or permission for each of the following transgressions namely: erecting a hut, constructing a building of any sort, and making a garden. Alternatively, Native transgressors could be imprisoned for three months with hard labor⁶⁷. Furthermore, even when Natives did obtain permission from individual landowners/occupiers to erect dwellings, graze livestock, and raise crops on their land, the Government limited the number of Native families to three; this number could be

⁶⁵ Smith to West on the necessity for Natal to secure a new source or revenue from the Natives. March 16th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:83).

⁶⁶ Cape Government Notice: Regulations for new Fingo Locations in Victoria. February 9th, 1849. (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:83-87).

⁶⁷ Ordinance: To prevent unlicensed squatting and to regulate the occupation of land by the Natives. February 16th, 1855. (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:201-204).

increased only if the owner/occupier submitted Schedule A to the Resident Magistrate of his county or division in January each year (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:203).

Schedule A.

Return of natives living on the farm called situated at occupied by A B, owner (or by C D, the mandatory or representative of A B) as the case may be.

Name of heads of families

Number of women

Number of children

Number of huts

Nature of agreement

Failure of the owner/occupier of the farm to comply would result in a fine ranging between 1 and 5 pound. Furthermore, the owner/occupier was also responsible for any trespass or damage committed by Natives and their cattle on adjoining land. Natives residing on private farms without permission were first issued with a Summons (Schedule B Number 1), followed by a Notice (Schedule B Number 2) (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:204).

Schedule B.

1.

SUMMONS

A B, and other persons living in the same kraal on the farm called are hereby summoned to appear before the Resident Magistrate at on the of to answer a complaint made against them by

(Signed) C.D, Magistrate's Clerk.

2. NOTICE

A B and other persons living in the same kraal on the farm called are hereby ordered to remove therefrom (on or before or forthwith, as the case may be).

Failure to heed these warnings resulted in a Warrant (Schedule C) that made provision for the forced removal, coupled with the destruction of fixed property, if necessary, of guilty Natives by Field-Cornets, constables, and other law enforcing officers (*Ibid*).

Schedule C. WARRANT.

To all Field-Cornets, constables and other officers of the law.

Whereas it has been shewn to me that the following persons, namely A. B. C. etc. with their families, are unlawfully living on certain land, situated at or near called belonging to C.

I do therefore command you to remove the said persons from the said land, and if necessary to pull down and destroy any hut, kraal or other buildings on the lands occupied by them.

Resident Magistrate.

Natives resident in these Locations were not, however, mere pawns that would labor when beckoned and return to the locations when their services were no longer required. Setting the aforementioned administrative framework in place to curb illegal Native squatting on unoccupied Crown Land attests to the widespread occurrence of squatting and the government's desire to check it. Furthermore, it was obvious that the establishment of large fragmented locations, upon the recommendation of the Secretary of State in 1849, to ensure a nearby Native labor supply for white settlers was failing

(N.G.G. Volume 14(720) August 19th, 1862:412). Complaints of labor shortages were perennial throughout the colony. Coastal planters, in particular, complained of seasonal Native labor shortages and the unreliable nature of Natal Native labor (S.D. 1859 No. 8:1). This led to the importation of Indian indentured laborers in 1860. After this practice was terminated by the Indian Government in 1865 because of complaints of Indian maltreatment, poor diet, and harsh punishment on some sugar plantations (Ballard 1989:136-137), planters rallied for the importation of foreign labor from Mozambique (Amatonga), Swaziland (Amaswazi), and other sources (S.D. 1869 No. 20:1-2). The success of Natal Native resistance to wage-labor is summed up by Secretary of State Kimberley, who found it absurd (in 1870) that demands were being made to bring foreign laborers to a Colony that had upward of 200,000 Natives for 16,000 Europeans. Kimberley advised Lieutenant-Governor Keate that: "until it is ascertained that sufficient labor cannot be obtained in Natal, it appears to me unadvisable to seek it elsewhere" (N.G.G. Volume 23(1269) January 24th, 1871 L.C. No. 5:46)⁶⁸. Obviously the ailing labor supply deteriorated since this was followed by a Bill passed by the Legislative Council in 1879 for facilitating foreign labor and more demands for the introduction of foreign Native labor⁶⁹. By 1872, J.T. Polkinghorne,

⁶⁸ Kimberley to Keate. August 13th, 1870.

⁶⁹ Correspondence between Lieutenant-Governor Keate and Colonial Secretary Earl of Kimberley and Earl Granville on Bill (18, 1869) for obtaining foreign Native labor (N.G.G. Volume 23(1269) January 24th, 1871. L.C. No. 5:45-48); Report by a Select Committee of the L.C. (N.G.G. Volume 24(1386) November 19th, 1872. L.C. No. 12:569-573); and Report by Captain Elton from Zanzibar on the resumption of voluntary emigration from Delagoa Bay (N.G.G. Volume 26(1501) November 17th, 1874. L.C. No. 21:671-672).

chairman of the L.C. Select Committee, and Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs, identified three overland foreign labor migration routes and one such sea-route (Figure 33).

This geographical model of foreign Native labor is instructive in that it is the creation of both Natives and the British colonial government. According to Polkingmore, Native immigrants voluntarily migrated to labor for wages in Natal. Furthermore, once employed by planters in Natal, these foreign laborers were not hesitant to seek employment elsewhere in the Colony at the slightest provocation since they realized that there was strong competition between planters for their labor. This voluntary, uncoerced migration was facilitated by the colonial government who placed a Government Officer at the terminus of each of the three overland routes where registration occurred and food and shelter were provided. Native pass laws, associated with identification tags or tokens, and individual labor registration, manifest in detailed record-keeping, and well defined periods when it was legal for foreign natives to labor, were stringently applied to foreign laborers who entered Natal via the Delagoa Bay sea-route.

Foreign laborers entering Natal overland were also, as Natal Natives previously, subjected to labor registration and had to carry identification tokens. An additional institution devised by Shepstone to ensure that foreign laborers fulfilled their contracts was to withhold 25% of their total wages. Individual laborers' outstanding wages were forwarded by their employee upon the expiration of their labor contract to the Resident Magistrate of the district/division in which they labored. Foreign laborers received their

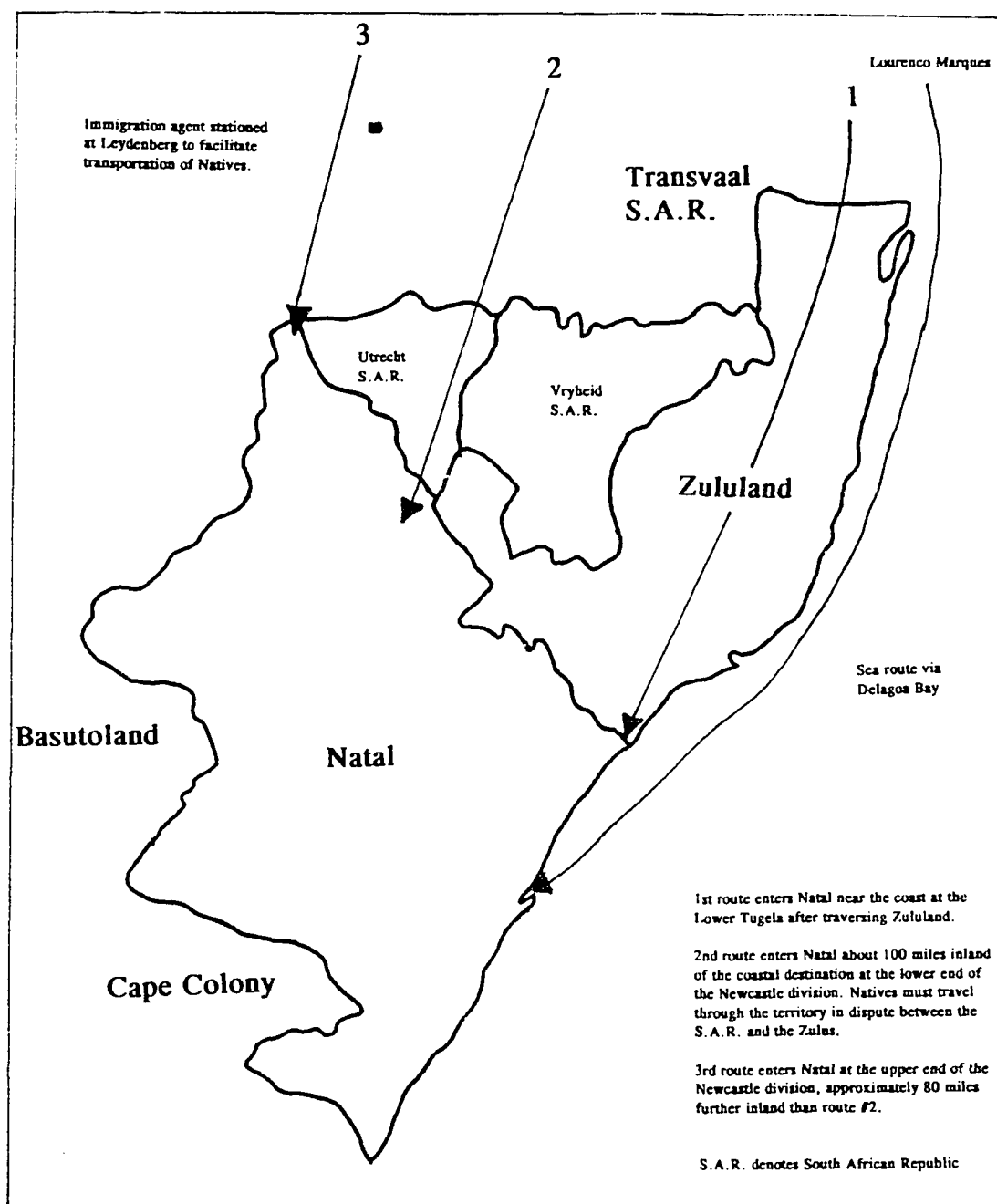


Figure 33 Foreign Native Labor: Source Regions and Migration Routes

Source: Government Gazette Volume 24(1386) November 19, 1872

outstanding wages at the office of the resident magistrate upon verification that their contract had expired (present written signed contract) and identification (present token). Hereafter they were escorted to the Colony's border by a "well-organized rural police force" consisting of "our own Natives" with white officers to supervise the operation (N.G.G. Volume 24(1386) November 19th, 1872 L.C. No. 12:572). Furthermore, the introduction of foreign Native labor to Natal was facilitated by an agreement between the Colonial Government and the Zulu King that made provision for Swazi and Amatonga laborers' safety when they traversed Zulu territory to and from Natal (N.G.G. Volume 23(1269) January 24th, 1871 L.C. No. 5:46).

Resistance to Forced Removal

Although Shepstone is praised for settling approximately 80,000 Natives on vaguely defined Locations (circa early 1850's) without bloodshed, this did not occur without Native resistance to forced removal (Brookes and Hurwitz 1957:4). Native resistance to removal was both overt and covert. An example of overt resistance⁷⁰ is manifest in the refusal of Mooi, Umvoti, and particularly Klip River Natives to remove to designated locations when instructed during June and July of 1849 (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:122 and 183-184). Covert resistance appeared to be more widespread since less than half Natal's Natives resided on designated locations by the end-date of this study. The example of Native covert resistance betrays British colonial administrators'

⁷⁰ Shepstone to E.C. complaining about difficulty in removing Natives from Klip and Mooi River districts to their locations (June 12, 1849); and John Bird (Resident Magistrate, Klip River) to E.C. reporting that certain Natives refuse to move to the locations (August 22nd, 1849).

ignorance of Natal's physical geography and Native pastoralists' adaptive ecological strategy to Natal's geography. In Natal, June and July are the dry season. This necessitated a dispersed, sparsely populated Native settlement pattern for semi-nomadic pastoralists who traversed great distances with their livestock in search of palatable grasses and scarce water resources. Conversely, during the wet season, which commenced with spring rains in September, settlement was nucleated, more dense when livestock resources were more plentiful. It is, therefore, little wonder that the Klip and Mooi river Natives resisted removal to locations during the dry season. The veld was in its worst condition at this time of the year; livestock were also thin and in poor condition. In interior Natal, confining Natives and their livestock to meager location land would spell disaster for Native herds resulting in high mortalities. Furthermore, the Mooi River Natives petitioned the Government to delay removal until early spring so that the sowing of mielies and squash could also coincide with the onset of the wet season (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:101-102). Shepstone and the E.C. acquiesced upon the recommendation of one Ooshuyse, field-cornet of Klip River county, who after inspecting the veld, confirmed the validity of Native protests (Ibid:181).

Shepstone and officials⁷¹ at the magisterial administrative level were understanding, accommodating, and patient when confronted by stubborn Natives. Although they ultimately wanted Natives to reside in the locations, they realized that attaining this objective would entail applying controlled, coercive force to avert Native rebellion and

⁷¹ M.J. Oosthuyse to E.C. explains slight alterations in arrangements for removal of Klip River Natives (July 19th, 1849).

flight from Natal. To be sure, Shepstone's objective⁷² in dealing with 3,000 refractory Natives in the Klip River division was threefold: (1) to expel them from this division; (2) to re-locate them at the base of the Drakensberg; and (3) to punish them, by imposing cattle fines, for their obstinate disobedience to repeated orders to move (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:197-201).

Preventing Native flight from Natal was particularly applicable to the Natives residing between the Bushman and Little Tugela rivers at the base of the Drakensberg Mountain (in the vicinity of the Kahlamba Location) who provided a defensive buffer between San hunter-gatherers to the north and pastoralists to the south. Native rebellion in Natal was a persistent fear because of black-white demographic disparities and the rudimentary Imperial military presence in the Colony that was incapable of containing such a Native revolt. In fact, the severe defeat dealt to British Imperial troops by the Zulu at the Battle of Isandlwana in 1879 attested to the impotency of the British military when the Zulu mobilized for war (Duminy and Guest 1989:195-8 and 236). Shepstone and the rural police force resorted to armed force, as a last resort, to ensure removal of refractory Natives. Shepstone and the police, for example, burnt chief Daman and Putile's kraals when they fled with their subjects upon hearing of their impending arrest (E.C. 1849-1852 Volume 3:200). Earlier the E.C. had sanctioned the use of force, including firing upon followers of chiefs' Langalibalele and Putile if they met with the slightest resistance to removal (Ibid:122-123). This extreme E.C. decree during these

⁷² Shepstone reports on measures to expel Klip River Natives. October 14th, 1849.

trying times was surprisingly reckless given the E.C.'s history of prudence when dealing with the Natives⁷³ (Ibid:181-182 and 184).

Destruction of Native property and levying cattle fines against stubborn chiefs and their followers did not, however, stem covert Native resistance to removal. Chief Radarada, Zikali, and their followers, resident close to the Kahlamba Location who had crossed swords with the Natal government in 1849, continued to resist removal as late as 1853⁷⁴. Radarada and his followers' discontent was not unfounded. Prior to demands for this removal they had been re-located to the land they now occupied which was subsequently claimed by a white pastoralist. Hereafter they were given two months to move. When they failed to meet this deadline two government messengers notified them that they had seven more days to remove to the adjacent designated land. Furthermore, they were informed that upon failure to comply, each kraal would be fined two head of cattle and their huts would be destroyed. A week later when the resident magistrate and twelve men visited the area to enforce the ultimatum their messengers were beaten with sticks. After this party was repulsed, Pine proposed a threefold plan that would ensure Native compliance. First, they would be given eight more day's grace to move. Hereafter each kraal would be fined ten head of cattle,

⁷³ Moodie to Shepstone conveying instructions and authority from the E.C. to remove the Natives using force if necessary (June 13th, 1849); Moodie conveys Lieutenant-Governor's warning that Klip River Natives are clearly to understand that orders for their removal are not being relaxed (July 24th, 1849); and Administrator of Government Boys instructs Shepstone to return to Klip River until removal of the Natives is completed (August 22nd, 1849).

⁷⁴ Pine's minute on removal of Radarada (August 27th, 1853).

Radarada's fine would be twenty-five head. If this failed then Captain Streuben and Dr. Blaine were authorized to burn their huts and seize their cattle (E.C. 1853-1856 Volume 4:140-141). In general, Native resistance to removal occurred in interior Natal where communication between local officials and the E.C. sitting in Pietermaritzburg took time resulting in delayed enforcement of E.C. decrees.

The Creation of Place

Experiencing and Naming the Landscape

Colonization and settlement of Natal by the British on the model of the colonial reformers during the forty years ending in 1879 was only successful in coastal Natal, albeit with modification to the idealized model. The presence of Dutch-Afrikaner and Native pastoralists in Natal necessitated modification to settlement ideals. British colonial officials and settlers alike entered a part of southeastern Africa that was not terra incognita. Natal was a place, not empty space, created and imbued with meaning by both Zulu and Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists whose previous experiences were reflected in the named landscape. Local colonial officials became familiar with Natal, alien to them, through adopting certain Dutch-Afrikaner and African institutions while also adding other more traditional British ones where possible. This is discernable from the commencement of settlement, persisted throughout the period under study and is manifest in the names of administrative districts, towns/villages, the natural landscape (rivers and mountains), Afrikanerisms, and other Dutch-Afrikaner institutions (Table 22). British sensitivity to African nomenclature and the essence of place is reflected in the 1847 report of the Natal Native Commission who asserted that:

In naming the divisions we have chiefly been guided by the native name of the principal river running through it. We conceive it desirable, on many grounds, to adhere to this plan as far as is practicable. We have, however, omitted giving any particular names to the sites proposed for townships and villages, there being no native name denoting the several localities (B.P.P. Volume 28:625).

At the administrative level, the counties of Natal, which remained constant throughout the period under study, reflect the contributions of Dutch-Afrikaner, Zulu, and British ethno-cultural societies' to the Natal settlement system and the creation of experiential place. The names of Natal's four coastal counties reflect British royalty and dominant colonial officials in the colonization endeavor. As one proceeds inland, British dominance wanes and is superseded by Dutch-Afrikaner (Pietermaritzburg, Weenen, and Klip River) and African (Umvoti) nomenclature. The same geographical pattern is discernable in the naming of administrative districts, although at this local administrative level the predominance of African names increases through time. When Natal was annexed in 1843, there were three administrative districts-- Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Weenen. When the colony was granted representative government in 1856, there were nine administrative divisions, one with an Anglo name, three with Dutch-Afrikaner, and five with African names. By the end-date of this study, there were fifteen administrative divisions: two with Dutch-Afrikaner names, three with Anglo names, and ten with African names. Similarly, the mix of British, African, and Dutch-Afrikaner language in the making of place is reflected in Natal's toponyms, including rivers and mountains, where Africanisms predominate; the Englishness of towns and villages; and the pervasiveness of Dutch-Afrikaner institutions manifest in Afrikanerisms. African river names, ranging from the Tugela, the

colony's northern boundary, to the Umtamvuna (Khoikhoi) in southern Natal were retained by British colonial officials. Personal African names and naming of places reflect events or experiences at a particular time. Hence, the Amanzimtote river, which enters the sea south of Isipingo, reflects African environment interaction and their penchant for this rivers sweet water (i.e., Amanzi - water; mtote - sweet). Similarly, Ixopo, one of the fifteen administrative divisions, is enonomatopoetic expression associated with mud released from cattle hoofs as they walk across muddy ground. Africans designated time and place with reference to experiences and events and not according to the calendar, a watch, and cardinal compass directions.

Natal: Schematic Representation of a South African Settlement System

The named Natal landscape cannot therefore be characterized as the sole creation of either British, African, or Dutch-Afrikaner ethno-cultural societies. The Natal settlement system was a palimpsest that reflected the individual, conflicting, and often shared experiences of these three ethno-cultural societies over three-quarters of a century; the creation of a South African settlement system. In some places each ethno-cultural societies institutions and nomenclature dominated while in others they co-existed so that distinguishing between them was not always clear. The application of customary law on Native locations and the co-existence of Dutch-Afrikaner and British settlement models in midland Natal are examples of the latter. The generalized model of British colonization and settlement in Natal from 1843 to 1880 attempts to explain the British contribution to shaping this South African settlement system through the circulation of people, ideas, and institutions from the metropole to Natal and then to track this

circulation throughout the colony. A presentation of this model is followed by an assessment of the settlement system. I postulate a schematic representation of British, Dutch-Afrikaner, and African culture regions circa 1850 and 1880.

In nineteenth-century colonial Natal, a South-African settlement system was fashioned through the contributions and interaction of British, Dutch-Afrikaner, and indigenous, particularly Zulu, ethno-cultural societies. The resulting settlement system consisted of core British culture regions in Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and coastal Natal; regions of British domain in the remaining British settlements and on Mission Stations; and spheres of interaction in rural areas outside of the aforementioned settlements and coastal regions. Conversely, regions in which Dutch-Afrikaner ideas and institutions were predominant included Klip River and Weenen. Furthermore, core Native/African regions are discernable on Native Locations (excluding Mission Reserves) and kraals located on farms of white farmers and those Natives squatting upon Crown Lands.

In this spatially variegated settlement system, the impacts of British imperialistic institutions and ideas in the settlement system were strongest in urban (core) settlements and weakest in rural (peripheral) areas. And within urban settlements, the impact of British ideas and institutions were strongest in Pietermaritzburg and Durban and then diminished with increasing distance from these core settlements. Similarly, in rural areas, the impact of British ideas and institutions were strongest in coastal Natal and least as one moved inland to interior Natal. Within Native Locations, ideas, and institutions propagated by European and American missionaries within the enclaves of Mission Reserves constituted regions of British domain. These core and domain regions

of Zulu, British, and Dutch-Afrikaner culture as well as spheres of interaction were not, however, static. These changing culture regions circa 1850 and 1880 are worth a word or two in conclusion.

Circa 1850

In 1850, after six years of British colonial rule in Natal, the impact of imperial institutions and ideas were visible in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, in particular, as well as in the coastal parts of the Durban district and parts of Umvoti district (Figure 34). These geographical localities are designated core British culture regions because of the persistent flow of communication between metropole and colony, and the implantation and survival of British institutions and modified agricultural ideas. Pietermaritzburg was the most important link between the metropole and the colony as well as between Dutch-Afrikaner and indigenous ethno-cultural societies and the Lieutenant-Governor resident at the capital. Moreover, in conjunction with the Natal Executive Council, the Lieutenant-Governor received, read, interpreted, debated, and codified settlement decrees communicated from the metropole. These policies were dispersed to magisterial district centers located in the four other districts, namely, Greytown in the Umvoti district; Estcourt in the Impafana district; Ladysmith in the Klip River or Umzinyati district; and Upper Tugela in the district with the same name. These towns as well as mission stations scattered throughout the colony on Native Locations are identified as regions of British domain. These localities are considered as outliers of British imperial ideas. However, because of distance from the metropole and Pietermaritzburg, settlement decrees and civilizing endeavors were challenged by antecedent Dutch-

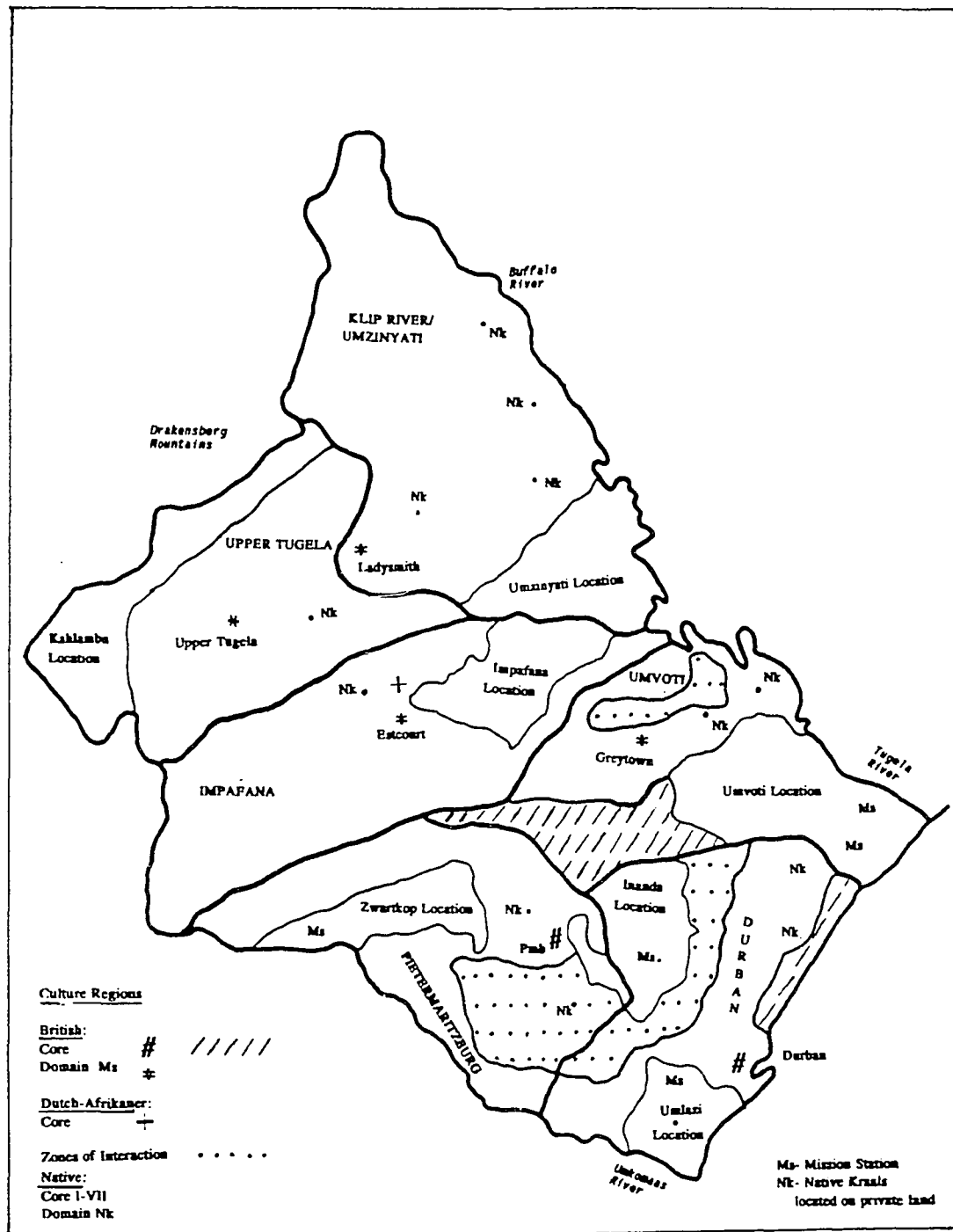


Figure 34 Natal Settlement System, Circa 1850
Source: Compiled by author

Afrikaner settlement ideals and indigenous social institutions (e.g. polygamy, lobola, and traditional belief systems).

Although spheres of Anglo-Zulu and Dutch-Afrikaner/Anglo interaction are difficult to depict spatially, interaction was a reality occurring at the interface of settlement. Hence, Native-Anglo spheres of interaction are discernible at the location junctures of mission stations, magistracy, Native kraal and white farmer. In 1850 the seven Native locations were the locus of traditional African society (core regions) (Figure 34). Zulu tenants, resident on white farms, represented regions of Zulu domain. These "boundaries" were, however, permeable. When Natives, for example, tired of proselytization they could take leave of the mission station and live under the rule of petty chiefs on the locations where they participated in mainstream African society. Customary law, a blend of black-white legal protocol, attests to joint fashioning of an experiential settlement system at the interface of African-Anglo society. Conversely, Natives became accustomed to wage-labor since they traversed these British and Zulu core and domain culture regions where they temporarily labored for money needed to pay hut-taxes and participate in a market-economy.

Circa 1850, the dorp of Weenen as well as the Klip River and Upper Tugela districts are identified as core Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions. In these districts extensive open-range pastoralism persisted. Weenen persisted as an enclave of Dutch-Afrikaner culture because Estcourt, located southwest of the dorp, was designated as the magistracy for the Klip River district during the latter part of the 1840's. Circa 1850, midland Natal, which included parts of Pietermaritzburg, Umvoti, and Durban districts is designated

as a sphere of interaction between British imperial settlement ideals and antecedent Dutch-Afrikaner extensive pastoralism. Another Anglo-Dutch/Afrikaner sphere of interaction (and also difficult to depict spatially) is in everyday communication in magistracies, on farms, and most importantly between officials, including members of the Executive Council, Henry Cloete, and John Moreland who framed legislation in Pietermaritzburg. The use of Afrikanerisms as well as British adoption of elements constituting the settlement system, including the initial divisions of field-cornets of erven, Native labor registration and identification tokens is evidence of British-Dutch/Afrikaner interaction and borrowing.

Circa 1880

By the end-date of this study and on the eve of the Anglo-Zulu war, the aforementioned processes that gave rise to ethno-cultural core and domain culture regions as well as spheres of interaction intensified in some geographical localities while they weakened in others. Pietermaritzburg's role as administrative center and the source of information for the remainder of the colony strengthened as did the financial maritime function of Durban. Moreover, the importance of agriculture in the coastal districts of the Lower Tugela, Inandi(a), Umlazi, and parts of Alexandra also persisted (Figure 35). Although policy disseminated from Pietermaritzburg came via the Colonial Secretary's Office in London, the importance of the Pietermaritzburg-London information circuit declined following the establishment of the Natal Representative government in 1856. Between 1856 and 1880 Natal was governed in tandem by a Executive (appointed officials) and Legislative Council (elected).

After 1850, the colonial government of Natal added an additional nine administrative divisions to facilitate settlement expansion and the peopling of the colony as new immigrants arrived (Figure 35). Hence, by 1880 a total of 36 geographical localities, fifteen administrative towns/villages and twenty-one mission stations are identified as regions within the British domain (Figure 35). Mission work was conducted at the juncture of core Native culture regions (41 Native Locations) and regions of white domain including the American Missions (with 13 stations); Hanoverian Missions (2); Church of England Missions (2); and the Norwegian, Berlin, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic Missions (1 each)⁷⁵. Another possible avenue of Native-Anglo interaction was between black tenants and white farmers upon whose land the former resided. By 1880, less than half of the total Native population resident in Natal lived on the locations. The majority resided as tenants and/or squatters on Crown Land, while the remainder lived on Mission Reserves. This enabled Natives to participate in white colonial society, albeit as second-class citizens, in an increased number of spheres of interaction.

With the exception of Weenen, Dutch-Afrikaner core culture regions ceased to exist by 1880. In interior Natal, stretching from the Weenen district north to the Newcastle district in the extreme northern part of the colony extensive landholdings on the Dutch-Afrikaner model were characteristic. Conversely, in midland Natal, centered upon the Pietermaritzburg hinterland and stretching south into the Umkomanzi district and north

⁷⁵ Although only fourteen named locations existed in 1880, most of them consisted of more than one parcel of location land. Hence, a total of 41 Native Locations existed in reality. Only the fourteen named locations are depicted in Figure 35. See Table 25 for a breakdown of the constituent parts of these locations.

into the Umvoti district, respectively, the mixed-farming model advocated by John Moreland dominated. This represented a compromise between Dutch-Afrikaner and Anglo settlement models. Although no distinctively Dutch-Afrikaner culture regions can be delineated, the influence of Dutch-Afrikaner settlement ideas and institutions are discernable in larger (than British prescriptions) cadastre sizes and livestock raising in midland and interior Natal. Coupling these with the British adoption of erven in towns and villages, the use of both Dutch-Afrikaner and British units of measure, the establishment of laagers to ensure the safety of the colony's inhabitants, and earmarking outspans for facilitating wagon travel and a pastoral livelihood makes apparent the pervasiveness of Dutch/Afrikaner-British interaction and borrowing in the shaping of a South African settlement system in Natal. Moreover, naming and imbuing the natural and humanly-fashioned landscape using Afrikanerisms, Zulu, (and occasionally Khoikhoi) and Anglo nomenclature to express the experiential dimension of place as a lived-in-reality attests to the joint making of the Natal settlement system by three ethno-cultural societies. The product was a South African settlement system.

SUMMARY

Introduction

The study of colonial settlement policy is one way for human geographers to understand how people shape the places they inhabit. The major concern of this study was to determine the impact of Dutch-Afrikaner, Native, and British cultures on the settlement geography of colonial Natal between 1838 and 1879. Toward this end, my approach was two-fold. First, the impact of Dutch-Afrikaner and British government policy was determined through an analysis of the Minutes of the Volksraad Meetings (1839 to 1842) and local British colonial correspondence, decrees, and reports (1843 to 1879) that dealt with colonization in Natal. In practice, I found that Dutch-Afrikaner and British government policy aimed at the implementation of an idealized model that seldom reached fruition intact. Generally the idealized model was modified by settlers and local colonial officials. Therefore, in the second instance, I considered the role of these agents (e.g. Shepstone, Cloete, and Moreland) in modifying the idealized model. I conclude that the South African settlement system in Natal was a syncretic compromise between European (British) and South African (Native and Dutch-Afrikaner) adaptations-- Natal was not a European (Dutch or British) transplantation from northwest Europe. Instead, the South African settlement system in Natal was a palimpsest, reflecting the contributions of three ethno-cultural societies over an approximately half-century.

Findings

The finding of this dissertation concerning the making of a South African settlement system in colonial Natal fits within the larger historical geography frontier literature. I conclude that the Natal settlement system is a syncretic compromise between European (Dutch and British) and South African (Dutch-Afrikaner and Native) adaptations. The adoption and modification of both European and African institutions and ideas constituting the Natal settlement system occurred on the frontier. I identify transfer (of ideas and institutions) and borrowing as dominant frontier processes in the creation of a South African settlement system in Natal. The emphasis is on culture contact and interaction-- the outcome of these processes occurs on the frontier.

The frontier processes of transfer and borrowing varied over space in Natal. I suggest a threefold regionalization (i.e. sociogeographic entities in Meinig's words), reflecting the relative importance of transfer or borrowing processes to explain the diversity of the Natal settlement system. British cultural transfer and persistence was dominant in coastal Natal and characterized the first sociogeographic region centered on Durban. Ideas and institutions implanted by Anglo colonial officials and settlers in coastal Natal included: compact agricultural settlement, the prevalence of English place names-- towns, farms, magisterial divisions, and counties, and numerous mission stations that served as "centers of civilization". The British adopted the Native Location from the Dutch-Afrikaner Volksraad and delimited the Tugela, Umvoti, and Umlazi Locations in coastal Natal. Although the Native Location represented borrowing (from Dutch-Afrikaner), the dominant frontier process in coastal Natal was British cultural

transfer and persistence. Moreover, the significance of transfer as a frontier process wanes as one proceeds from coastal to midland and interior Natal.

The second sociogeographic region, centered on the capital Pietermaritzburg in midland Natal was a hearth of British experimentation during the colonization endeavor in Natal. Here processes of transfer and borrowing (from Dutch-Afrikaner and Natives) coupled with adaptation co-existed. The capital Pietermaritzburg is a product of the co-existence of these processes. British colonial policy, communicated from the metropole, was received by the Lieutenant-Governor at the colonial office in Pietermaritzburg. The colonial office served as a conduit for British ideas and institutions-- the capital symbolized British cultural transfer and persistence. However, Pietermaritzburg, the capital's name is indicative of British borrowing from the Dutch-Afrikaner Volksraad. This second sociogeographic region was the epitome of colonial Natal as a South African settlement system. Here Native, Dutch-Afrikaner, and British ethno-cultural societies interacted around government institutions, at bi-lingual church services, and at the Pietermaritzburg market where Dutch-Afrikaner and English monetary systems and units of measure co-existed.

The third sociogeographic region in interior Natal (area north of and including Weenen) exemplifies the persistence of Dutch-Afrikaner settlement ideas and institutions (laagers, large erven sizes, dorp names, and extensive pastoral landholdings) and their adoption by the British. In interior Natal, British borrowing of Dutch-Afrikaner settlement ideas outweighed the wholesale transfer of British ideas and their implantation in this part of the colony. Institutions associated with Dutch-Afrikaner semi-nomadic

pastoralism had crystallized on the Cape frontier and were refined in Dutch-Afrikaner Natal (1839 to 1842) and served as a settlement model. Coupling these refined institutions with the concept of Native Locations in interior Natal left an indelible imprint that the British were unable to obliterate. Hence, the subsistence and settlement pattern associated with ethno-cultural societies in interior Natal emphasized semi-nomadic pastoralism, with cattle-based herding integrated with supplementary crop production carried out at scattered homesteads.

This geographical regionalization is analogous to Meinig's (1986) delimitation of "sociogeographic entities" in comprehending the shaping of the America's settlement geography. At the continental scale, Meinig identifies some two dozen such "sociogeographic" regions. In Natal three sociogeographic regions are identified. Moreover, in contrast with Meinig's delimitation of sociogeographic regions, their delimitation in colonial Natal is not conterminous with particular ethno-cultural societies-- either Anglo in coastal Natal, Dutch-Afrikaner in midland Natal, or Native in interior Natal. The predominance of attributes (i.e. language, units of measure etc.) of any one ethno-cultural society in colonial Natal is not discernable. In Natal, I argue for a blending of British, Dutch-Afrikaner, and Native ideas and institutions in the creation of a South African settlement system. Such labelling connotes the creation of something new-- possibly a creolized settlement system. This is, for example, manifest in pastoral strategies, toponyms and Afrikanerisms, as well as rural and urban (erven) cadastres.

My finding differs from Meinig's macro-scale culture region thesis in that ethnicity, linguistic, and religious diversity are of secondary importance in the shaping of places settled by diverse ethno-cultural societies. My finding in colonial Natal is similar to Lemon's thesis in the *Best Poor Man's Country*, centered on pluralistic Pennsylvania. The homogeneity of society in southeastern Pennsylvania, manifest in the family-farm, was determined by a combination of economics and liberty-- the ideal of private land-ownership. In colonial Natal it may be argued that the sum of the South African settlement is greater than the parts (Native, Dutch-Afrikaner, and British) that constitute it.

Limitations and Strengths of the Study

The limitations and strengths of this study turn on scale. The analysis and interpretation of primary settlement data for Natal's approximately eleven million acre surface area necessitates a macro-scale approach. The macro-scale perspective of the shaping of Natal's colonial settlement system presented here has two limitations. In the first instance, a detailed picture at the county-level (8 in all) is sacrificed for a holistic interpretation at the colony-level while secondly, in pursuit of the "big picture", short shrift is given to the treatment of individual components (i.e. erven, outspans, native resistance to forced labor etc.) that collectively constitute the settlement system. During the various stages of research (i.e. formulating questions, collecting and analyzing the data, and finally writing), I grappled with the question of scale and considered a micro-scale county-level (Pietermaritzburg) study. But a county-level study would include the limitations already mentioned-- hence I chose to write the narrative looking through a

wider lens. Further research conducted at the county-level should strengthen, modify, or reject my thesis that the Natal settlement system is the product of the blending of African and European ideas and institutions to create a lived-in and experienced South African place-- not the wholesale transplantation of Europe overseas.

The main strength of this study is the emphasis I place on the complexity of frontier processes associated with colonialism in pluralistic societies like South Africa. The South African settlement system in Natal was shaped through the processes of wholesale diffusion (i.e. cultural persistence) and borrowing (i.e. adaptation and culture change) acting in concert, albeit to different degrees within three sociogeographical regions of the colony. This conclusion goes beyond Cole Harris's (1977b) simplification of Europe overseas thesis-- a variant of diffusion and cultural persistence-- in rural French Canada and Dutch South Africa. In Natal, these processes led to a creolized settlement system-- the product of culture contact between the colonized (Native and Dutch-Afrikaner) and the colonizers (British). As such, the thesis is similar to historian Richard White's (1991) idea of the "middle ground", characterized by a blending of Native American and European institutions in the Great Lakes Region between 1650-1815.

A second strength of this study is the identification and emphasis of ecological considerations in shaping the Natal settlement system. I consider sweet-sourveld transhumance migration as the kernel to understanding settlement associated with semi-nomadic pastoralists whether Native, Dutch-Afrikaner, or British. This adaptive pastoral strategy developed by Native (Khoikhoi, Xhosa, and Zulu) and the Dutch-

Afrikaner semi-nomadic pastoralists was influential in shaping British colonial policy in Natal. Two examples illustrate the importance of ecological considerations: one regarding land alienation to white settlers and the other to Native Location policy. The Natal Land and Colonization Company (N.L. & C.C.) acquired many pastoral farms from Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists following British annexation of Natal in 1844. Printed N.L. & C.C. advertisements frequently made reference to sweetveld, thornveld, and winter farms. These advertisements underscored pastoralists' sensitivity to the environment when selecting land and to the fashioning settlement patterns. Similarly resident magistrates and field-cornets were aware of the hardship Natives would suffer were they forcibly moved to prescribed Native Locations during the dry winter months. During winter the veld was in its poorest condition and pasture and water resources at a premium. Hence, seasonality influenced the timing of forced Native removal to Locations.

Future Research

The thesis that the Natal colonial settlement system is a creolized one may be tested through additional comprehensive micro-scale studies that focus on individual counties during particular time-periods in Natal. Alternatively, this thesis may be tested through a detailed systematic study of selected aspects of the colony's settlement geography. These may include geographical inquiry into tangible aspects of the settlement system: farm-names, toponyms, and the morphology and of town/dorp plans. In addition, we may include intangible aspects like Afrikanerisms and South African vernacular reflected in discourse. Potential research themes associated with discourse include

magisterial district court records, literature, art, and music from most segments of pluralistic South African society. These studies will either strengthen, modify, or reject the South African settlement system thesis proposed in this study. To be sure, I have not included Natal's Asian population into this interpretation of the fashioning of a South African settlement system in Natal. This represents another avenue of research to compliment this study. These and other research questions addressing the theme of Natal as a lived-in and experienced South African place are possible through the rich archival record as well as reading of the cultural landscape.

Systematic studies in the aforementioned vein should be done in other geographical regions of South Africa (i.e. Cape Province, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal) to determine whether the thesis of this study is applicable at the national level. Guelke has conducted intensive research in one of these geographical regions, namely, the seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Cape Colony. Guelke recognizes that eighteenth-century Cape colonial society is different from the parent. To be sure, in the final chapter of his dissertation he asserts that the eighteenth-century trekboers constitute a "new African society". Systematic studies of culture contact and change in the Transvaal and Orange Free State-- where Dutch-Afrikaner and Native society co-existed-- should extend the thesis of a South African settlement system to the highveld of South Africa. The validity of this assertion for the highveld of South Africa will, however, have to await study of Volksraad records of the Republics (i.e. Orange River and Transvaal) on the South African highveld.

Conclusion

This research builds upon the work of Guelke (in the Cape Colony) and Christopher (in colonial Natal), two prolific South African historical geographers. Christopher (1969a, 1969b, and 1968) reconstructs the British cadastral map in colonial Natal with no reference to antecedents-- either British, Dutch-Afrikaner, or Native. Guelke contends that eighteenth-century Cape colonial society was a new creation (1974 and 1976) distinct from the European fragment because of local conditions. Guelke's thesis is rooted in economics (1982 and 1983). Recently, Guelke (1985) has identified two eighteenth-century Cape frontiers, one of inclusion, the other of exclusion-- Dutch-Afrikaner pastoralists on the latter frontier settled in Natal beginning in 1838. I have chronicled the implantation, modification, and elaboration of Dutch-Afrikaner ideas and institutions in Natal that had crystallized on the Cape frontier.

This study differs from Guelke and Christopher's research in that I emphasize processes of cultural transfer (i.e. persistence) and borrowing (i.e. change) on the Natal frontier. Toward this end, this study contributes to the existing frontier literature that is diverse both in terms of concept and research possibilities. John Fraser Hart (1974), for example, viewed the frontier in quantitative terms. He differentiated between: (1) frontiers of occupance identified as consisting of two persons per square mile, (2) six persons per square mile settlement frontiers, and (3) agricultural frontiers of eighteen persons per square mile. In fact, Hart's threefold frontier classification is an elaboration of Turner's frontier concept of agricultural intensity. Other frontier research has compared different environments-- an ecological imperialistic concept of the frontier and

related cultural to economic development in regions of recent settlement. The contributions of Andrew Clark and many of his students' work are examples of the latter. This study has chronicled the struggle between the colonizers and colonized on the frontier-- a zone of land competition. This study of the making of a settlement system in Natal is couched in the context of culture contact, interaction, and outcome. The so-called "inter-group contact situation" to use Forbes' nomenclature. This study goes beyond Turner's idea of the frontier as a line that separates civilization from savagery. Moreover, this research contributes to the post-colonial literature in that Native and Dutch-Afrikaner ethno-cultural society-- the colonized-- contributed to the making of a colonial settlement system in Natal.

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Major Field: Geography

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Approved:

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